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# The Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda Kāṇḍa 15

## A New Edition with Translation and Commentary

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTR	<b>ODUCTION</b>
1. The	constitution of the text8
2. Orth	nography, Spelling mistakes, Sandhi15
3. Arra	angement and content of PS 15
4. Tex	t, Critical Apparatus, Metrical analysis34
KĀŅĮ	<b>QA 15</b>
15.1	For the protection of the kingdom49
15.2	For the protection of the kingdom (continued)65
15.3	Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment73
15.4	Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment (continued)85
15.5	The king's investiture95
15.6	The king's investiture (continued)
15.7	To various gods
15.8	To various gods (continued)
15.9	To various gods (continued)
15.10	Weapons of war
15.11	Weapons of war (continued)
15.12	Weapons of war (continued)
15.13	To various gods: for relief from oppression157
15.14	To various gods: for relief from oppression (continued)
15.15	To the herb Arundhatī
15.16	To the herb Arundhatī (continued)
15.17	To the herb Arundhatī (continued)
15.18	Against Apsarases
15.19	Against Apsarases (continued)
15.20	To Rudra
15.21	To Rudra (continued)
15.22	Against hail, for the protection of the crop
15.23	Against hail, for the protection of the crop (continued)

ABBREVIATIONS	237
BIBLIOGRAPHY	241
INDEX VERBORUM	265
INDEX LOCORUM	285
Curriculum Vitae	300
Samenvatting	301

#### INTRODUCTION

Since its discovery and the initial efforts towards its edition, the Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda (PS) has attracted the attention of Vedic scholars and Indologists for several reasons: it is by far the oldest Samhitā of the Vedic corpus after the Rgvedasamhitā (RV); from a linguistic point of view, it attests archaic forms next to grammatical innovations, from the eldest attestations of many verbal and case forms to previously unattested words and word formations, hapax legomena etc., thus being a precious source for the study of the development of the earliest language; the transmission of the text is an intriguing subject that can shed more light on the formation and reciprocal relations of the Vedic schools; since the PS attests both material preserved in other Samhitas as well as previously unknown mantras, it is possible to study the variants between the texts, their relative chronology and also the new data that the original portions of the text offer; important information about various rites and magical practices, hints about the oldest Indo-Iranian and Indo-European myths, mentions of medicinal herbs, plants and animals, references to peculiar features of the Vedic gods, descriptions of demoniac beings, objects of daily life and other realia: this is what makes the PS a text of inestimable value for the study of Indian language and culture.

Having a faithful text, with a translation and a commentary, is an essential prerequisite for fully appreciating the value of the PS.

The history of the discovery of the PS and of the studies on the text has been related in many previous publications,  $^1$  so it will suffice here to present the most current state of the research. Up until now, the edition of Bhattacharya numbers three volumes and covers  $k\bar{a}ndas 1-18.^2$  Critical editions of different  $k\bar{a}ndas$  of the PS are already published, while others are in preparation; the table below shows the situation of the research at present, as far as I know:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, e.g., BHATTACHARYYA 1964: IX ff., BHATTACHARYA 1997: IX ff., WITZEL 1985a and 1985b, GRIFFITHS 2009: XXV-XX. A concise but useful survey can be found in FRANCESCHINI 2012, who discusses the main theories about the medieval transmission of the PS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya 1997, 2008, 2011.

Kāṇḍa	Author
1	Zehnder 1993 (unpublished)
2	Zehnder 1999
3	Lücke (in preparation)
4	Griffiths and Lubotsky (in preparation)
5	Lubotsky 2002
6	Griffiths 2009
7	Griffiths 2009
8	Kim (in preparation)
9	Kim (in preparation)
10	First half: Griffiths (unpublished)
10	Second half: D'Avella 2007 (unpublished)
11	Tucker (in preparation)
12	Ehlers et al. (in preparation)
13	Lopez 2010
14	Lopez 2010
15	Lelli
16	_
17	First anuvāka: Selva 2014
18	_
19	Griffiths and Knobl (in preparation)
20	20.1-20.30: Kubisch 2012

My PhD thesis is therefore part of a bigger project, started several years ago, that involves scholars from different countries and aims at a complete critical edition of the PS.

The goal of my work is to present a re-edition of kāṇḍa fifteen that goes beyond Bhattacharya's edition in several respects, viz. in that it establishes a collation of six PS manuscripts from Orissa, investigated for their mutual relationship; it is based on a comparison of the Kashmirian manuscript with six manuscripts from Orissa, whose variants are recorded in a positive critical apparatus; it provides a metrical analysis, on the basis of which prosodic and metrical statistics have been prepared; it has an English translation accompanied by a commentary dealing with philological, grammatical, metrical and lexical problems, as well as with the interpretation of the text itself; it has an *Index Verborum* and an *Index Locorum*.

#### 1. The constitution of the text

The critical edition of PS 15 presented here has been established from the collation of seven manuscripts. They represent (part of) the transmission of the text as it is has been sketched in the scenario suggested by WITZEL 1985a. Witzel's hypothesis involves an archetype of all the manuscripts of the PS (\*G), dating to 800–1000, written in a late form of Gupta script and hailing from western India (Gujarat). Two hyparchetypes descend from this archetype and

precede, respectively, the Kashmirian transmission (\*D) and the Orissa transmission (\*B). According to Witzel, \*D dated to ca. 1350 and was written in early Devanāgarī script, whereas \*B dated to ca. 1400 and was written in Proto-Bengali script. From these two hyparchetypes derive all the existent manuscripts of the PS.

For this edition, I have used **K** as the sole representative of the Kashmirian tradition.<sup>3</sup> Late copies of **K**, such as the Devanāgarī manuscript **Bm** from Bombay, mentioned by BARRET 1930: 43–44, have not been used.<sup>4</sup>

With the siglum **K**, I indicate BLOOMFIELD & GARBE's (1901) facsimile edition of the birchbark ms., written in the Śāradā script, that was discovered in Kashmir in the 1870s. The ms. arrived in Rudolph Roth's possession in Tübingen in 1876, and has since then been preserved in the University Library at Tübingen. On the characteristics of this ms., I refer the reader to WHITNEY 1905: LXXIX ff., to the preface to BLOOMFIELD & GARBE 1901, and to GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIII-XXIV. The Tübingen ms. contains a colphon that reports a date which has been interpreted to refer to 1419 A.D.; evidence indicates that it may have been copied, together with this colophon, from an immediate antigraph (\***K**) dating to that period. The ms. itself dates to the early 16th century (see WITZEL 1973–76, 1985a, SLAJE 2005, 2007).

PS 15 begins *folio* 158b6 and ends *folio* 166a7. The arrangement of the material in these seven-and-a-half folios has been clearly described by BARRET 1930: 43–45, with minor mistakes (e.g. the only accented word of this  $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$ ,  $tanv\dot{a}$ , is found *folio* 161a18 and not *folio* 161a8, as indicated by Barret).

As regards the Orissa tradition, PS 15 is transmitted in six palm-leaf manuscripts, namely **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Mā**, **Ma** and **Pa**. I was able to directly collate **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Mā** and **Pa**; Arlo Griffiths kindly provided to me photographs of **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Pa** and xeroxcopies of **Mā**.

In his 1997 edition, Bhattacharya used only two manuscripts,  $M\bar{a}$  and Ma; I quote Ma from Bhattacharya's edition and put the siglum between square brackets [...]. I have not collated two late copies of Pa, known as  $Pa_c$  and  $Gu_c$ , which are of minimal interest due to the availability of more reliable manuscripts.

With the siglum **Ku**, I indicate a set of three palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kuruṃcaini, Dt. Cuttack, Orissa. On the date of the mss., see GRIFFITHS 2003: 355. PS 15 is transmitted in **Ku2**, which contains kāṇḍas 6–15; it begins *folio* 70<sup>r</sup> and ends *folio* 78<sup>r</sup>.

With the siglum **JM**, I indicate a set of five palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Dr. Jabandhu Miśra, teacher in the Vedakarmakāṇḍamahāvidyālaya, Puri. The mss. have been dated to 1911 (GRIFFITHS 2003: 352). PS 15 is transmitted at the end of **JM1**, which contains kāṇḍas 6–15; it begins *folio* 132<sup>r</sup> and ends *folio* 150<sup>A</sup>.

With the siglum **RM**, I indicate a ms. in the possession of Dr. Rāmacandra Miśra, lecturer at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack (residing in Puri). There are not precise indications as to where the ms. has been obtained, but it probably hails from the Puri area (see Griffiths 2003: 360). It is undated. It contains kāṇḍas 6–15. PS 15 begins *folio* 90° and ends *folio* 102°.

With the siglum Mā, I indicate a set of palm-leaf mss. in two *codices* discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya in Makanda, Baleshwar District, Orissa (LOPEZ 2010: 42;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On the script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of this manuscript, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXII–XXIV.

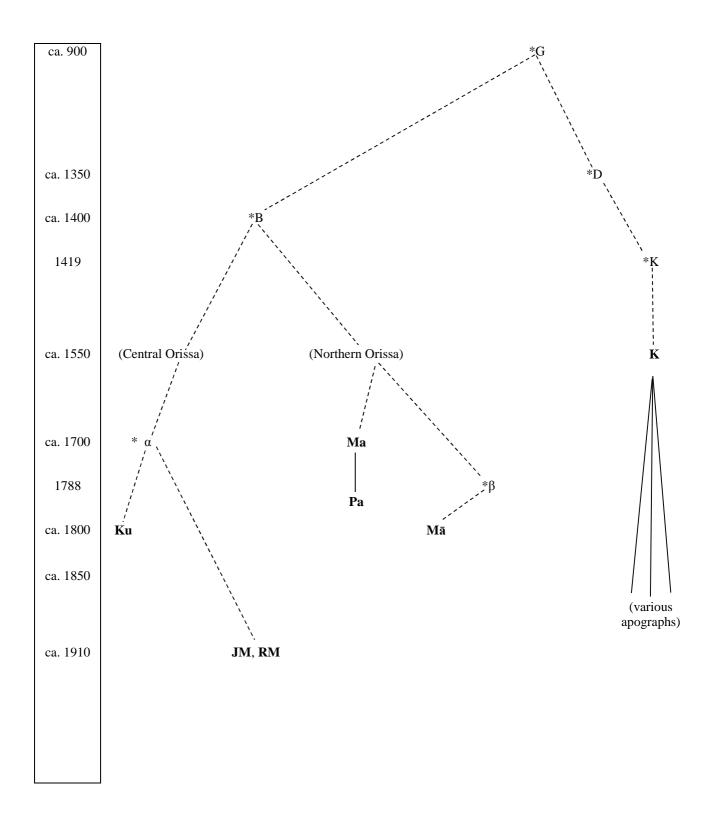
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On other late copies of **K**, see WITZEL 1973–1976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> On the script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of the Orissa manuscripts, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII–XXXIV.

Mākanda in Mayūrbhañj District, according to ZEHNDER 1999: 19). Lopez (*ibid.*) reports that "folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled A and B probably by D. M. Bhattacharya [*sic*!]. Each folio-side generally has four lines of text. [...] Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie together the entire book". The beginning of PS 15 is missing in the xeroxcopies in my possession and the number of the folio containing its end is not visible.

With the siglum **Pa**, I indicate a ms. that according to LOPEZ (2010: 43) and ZEHNDER (1999: 17) originally comes from the village of Parikula, Baleshwar (Balasore) District, Orissa. According to GRIFFITHS (2003: 336 fn.8), it now belongs to the schoolteacher A. K. Praharāj from Baripada. For the date, see GRIFFITHS 2003: 360. The ms. contains kāṇḍa 1–20. PS 15 begins *folio* 102<sup>v</sup> and ends *folio* 115<sup>v</sup>.

The relationship between the manuscripts of the PS is rather complex. As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIX, the PS shows a conflated transmission, in which the influence of an oral transmission of the text must have played a major role next to conflations coming from written manuscripts. Although I agree with Griffiths's statement that the strict application of the stemmatic method is of very limited utility for the PS, especially because we are dealing with an open recension, I nonetheless believe that a *stemma codicum* may be useful for representing Witzel's scenario and the relationship between the manuscripts. The *stemma codicum* below is taken from GRIFFITHS 2004a: XLIV, with modifications (I have included only the manuscripts used in the edition of PS 15).



#### Common errors in K and Or

As stated by GRIFFITHS 2009: XLVI, "The evidence supporting postulation of a written archetype comes primarily from common errors found in both  $\mathbf{K}$  and the Orissa mss. [...]. Shared errors do not need to be significant, but their accumulation is at least noteworthy". In the following (not entirely complete) list of common errors found in  $\mathbf{K}$  and  $\mathbf{Or}$ , we may distinguish between less and more significant errors: the first ones could have arisen

independently in the two traditions, due to common spelling or orthography mistakes (such as the confusion between the sibilants or between -i- and -i-). On the other hand, more significant errors include cases for which spelling mistakes cannot be invoked to explain the readings of the manuscripts. The reading of the archetype is in each case clear.

List of common errors found in **K** and **Or**: 15.1.5d \*sahasyam, mss. sahasvam; 15.1.6d \*salilavātam, mss. salilāvatam; 15.1.7c \*śaradāhnām, mss. śaradāhnā; 15.2.8c \*viśatv, mss. viśastv; 15.3.7a \*avāsrpad, mss. avāsrjad; 15.3.10b \*ohatuḥ, mss. ohatu; 15.5.6d \*abhavam, mss. aghavan; 15.12.3a \*āśor, mss. āsor; 15.16.2d \*arundhati, mss. arundhatī; 15.18.4b \*adho, mss. atho; 15.18.9c \*pṛṣṭīr, mss. pṛṣṭī; 15.20.7e \*sarvām, mss. sarvān; 15.21.3a \*śivās \*tanūr, mss. śivā tanū; 15.21.7b \*adho, mss. atho; 15.22.1b śivān, mss. śivām, 15.23.7b \*āśām, mss. āsām.

#### The hyparchetypes

As regards the hyparchetypes \*D and \*B, I refer to WITZEL 1985a and GRIFFITHS 2009: XLVI-XLVII. I limit myself here to mentioning a piece of evidence from PS 15 that supports the postulation of a common written predecessor of the Orissa manuscripts, and that has remained unnoticed. It consists of the omission of the syllable *va* at PS 15.22.1d; the correct reading *avantu* has been preserved only by **K**, whereas all the Orissa manuscripts have lost the middle syllable of the word (*atu* **Ku**, *antu* **JM**, **RM**, *amtu* **Pa**, **Mā** [**Ma**]).

#### The genetic relationship between the Orissa manuscripts

The genetic relationship between the Orissa manuscripts has been discussed at length by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII ff. and LOPEZ 2010: 14–24. I present below the evidence from kāṇḍa 15 that confirms the grouping of the Orissa manuscripts into 'central' and 'northern' manuscripts, proposed by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXVII-XXIX. I limit my discussion to the manuscripts used in this edition:<sup>6</sup>

	Provenance
Ku	central
JM	central
RM	central
Pa	northern
Mā	northern
Ma	northern

As stated by Griffiths, the grouping together of **Ku**, **JM**, **RM** against **Pa**, **Mā** and **Ma** can be established on the basis of two main arguments: the order in which information is preserved in the hymns' colophons and the textual evidence (i.e. shared readings). For kāṇḍa 15, it is true without exception that "the central Orissa manuscripts give first the stanza-count, and then the hymn-number, while the northern Orissa manuscripts always [...] give the hymn-number first, followed by the stanza-count (the number of stanza-count is sometimes omitted, but minimally  $\parallel \mathfrak{x} \parallel$  is always written)" (GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVIII). The table below presents the other textual evidence for this grouping culled from kāṇḍa 15:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Note that the Orissa manuscripts have been quoted in the critical apparatus according to their provenance: manuscripts from central Orissa come first, then those from northern Orissa.

	CENTRAL	NORTHERN
	Ku, JM, RM	Pa, Mā, [Ma]
1.6c	vaddham	vadyam
2.1a	stomaikaviṁśe	staumaikaviṁśe
3.3c	atpramāỳukam	atpramāỳakaṁ
6.2c	śataṁ ca	śatañ ca
6.3c	śataṁ ca	śatañ ca
10.2a	dhanvanājiṁ	dhanvanājiñ
11.2d	ÿachat	<i>ÿachāt</i>
12.6a	pavi	pava
20.1c	vyaṅgo	yaṅgo
20.1d	viṣūcīḥ	viṣucīḥ
21.8d	kṣipatbhyo	kṣipadbhyo
23.2c	hādunim	dāduniṁ
23.3cd	vicakṣuṣāśaniṁ	cakṣuṣāśaniṁ
23.11b	stanaitnave	stanaÿitnave

It is clear that within the group of central manuscripts, **JM** and **RM** form a subgroup. The tables below present the evidence from kāṇḍa 15 supporting the existence of this subgroup. In the first table, I have listed the errors shared by **JM** and **RM** against **Ku** (which has either the correct reading or not); in the second table, the cases where **JM** and **RM** have preserved the correct reading while **Ku** shows small errors, especially insignificant sandhi variants. I have marked in bold the cases where **Ku** or **JM** and **RM** are the only manuscripts which have preserved the correct reading.

	JM, RM	Ku
1.6°	tat sakeÿaṁ	tachakeÿaṁ
1.7c	cikatnū	cikitnu
1.8°	sāmaṁny	sāmany
1.9°	sahasāmni	sahasāmna
1.9c	ca	ta
2.4b	jā	yā
2.4c	vāỳuḥ	vāyuḥ
2.4d	sandhānā	saṁdhānā
3.4a	prāṇaṁ	prāṇa
4.1a	ŗņāt	ŗṇād
4.10a	amantu	avantu
5.3a	varccase	varccaso
5.7a	asmānam	aśmānam
5.9d	yok	yo
6.3a	dhā	dhāḥ
6.3c	puŗcīr	pu <u>r</u> cīr

8.2a	ŗpāṇām	ŗpāṇām
9.4b	māvaṁtv	māvantv
11.2c	sañ	saṁ
11.3d	ita	itaḥ
11.5cd	pracodaÿāśvāna	pracodaÿāśvān
11.5d	samutsu	samatsu
11.9b	putrā	puṛtrā
12.1a	prāmuñ	prāmūñ
13.4a	gandharvā 'psaraso	gandharvāpsaraso
14.9d	muñcatv	muñcaṁtv
14.11d	muñcatv	muñcantv
15.3c	yañ	yaṁ
18.3a	andācīm	andhācīm
18.5c	puṛṣaṁ	рūŗṣaṁ
18.9b	nŗtyatu	nŗtyata
19.9a	uluṅgulukottarā	ulungulukottarāḥ
20.7b	ahaṁ	arhaṁ
20.8a	vidyate	vidyute
20.10b	kiṁ	kiñ
20.10c	śalyāṁ	śatyā
21.2b	dvipado	dvipade
21.8a	arișyato	arișyanto
21.8d	jā	$yar{a}$
22.1d	antu	atu
22.2d	śiva āpo	śivā āpo
22.5d	jena	yena
22.8c	maṛtbhyo	maŗdbhyo
22.9b	pathāḥ	pathā
22.10d	mabhiḥ	maŗdbhi <u>ḥ</u>
23.6a	sandhyāmi	sandyāmi
23.9cd	būthvā 'thehy	būthvāthehy
23.10b	śivāśivatarā	śivāśachivatarā
23.11c	kṛṇvo	kŗņmo
23.12c	saho sahat	saho mahad

	JM, RM	Ku
1.9ab	sahasvaty rtur	sahasvatyutur
2.1a	patni	patnī
2.7b	уас са	уа са
4.1a	saṁnaỳa	sa{m}nnaya
5.4a	kṛṇotu	kṛṇotū
6.2b	abhiśastipā	abhiśastivā
6.7a	sicam	śicam
10.6d	yachanti	yachaṁti
11.3c	āpatantīr	āpataṁtīr
11.4a	bhogai <u>ḥ</u>	bhaugai <u>ḥ</u>
11.8d	jetvāni	yetvāni
11.10a	ojo	oyo
12.1d	jaÿantu	jaỳanta

12.5c	uc chukram	uchukram
12.6c	namatis	namatas
13.2c	agriÿa <b>i</b> n	agrya <b>ṁ</b>
13.6d	muñcantv	muñcaṁtv
15.7b	oṣadhīṁ	oṣadhiṁ
16.2c	rājñī	rājña
17.7b	daṣṭas	daṣṭaḥs
20.7d	pariṣṭhāsti	pariṣṭhasti
22.4c	apsv antas	āpsantas

Besides the list of shared readings, the close connection of **Pa**, **Ma** and **Mā** is clearly shown by the *lacuna* at 15.16.4d, in which **Mā** reads *viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī* and **Ma** and **Pa** have *viṣasya vi*; as noted by LOPEZ 2010: 22, this example is nicely confirmed by PS 15.11.6d, in which **Mā** shows a lacuna, *indrasya* [ ] *haviṣā rathaṁ yaja*, as opposed to the unanimous readings of **Ma** and **Pa** *indrasya vajraṁ haviṣā rathaṁ yaja*. At 15.17.3a, **Ma** and **Mā** are in accord and read *īśānena*, while **Pa** shows the omission of the first syllable, reading *nena*.

Finally, I present other evidence from kāṇḍa 15 supporting the grouping together of **Pa** and Ma (see Griffiths 2009: XXIX). Since I did not have direct access to Ma, for this manuscript I relied on Bhattacharya's (implicit) indications, which however are not always clear. The cases in which **Pa** and **Ma** agree against all the other manuscripts are: 1.6a vairpo, 4.2a dusvapnyam, 5.6ab dadantāsitir, 6.1d paridadhātavā u, 6.2d sa vyayasva, 6.10b sambhava, 12.7c kosaghoro, 12.11a syutah, 14.8c purastāt śatrā, 17.5a sambharanti, 23.12d tavam. There are numerous cases in which Pa alone has an error, while Ma agrees with other manuscripts — which suggests that **Pa** is probably a direct copy of **Ma**: 1.5a sahajyaśā, 1.9ab sahasvaTYrtu, 2.2c paktiḥ, 2.3d asastv, 2.4b ya, 2.7b ya chukram, 3.1c āñjan, santate, 3.3d anāṣasam, 4.4c vavārya, 5.5d nayemam ( $\rightarrow$  nam), 5.9d adha, 6.3d cārur, 6.5a hiranyavarna, 6.6a ottamattanta, 8.7a hikāmrah, 10.2c jatror, 10.3b paripasvajānā, 10.4d visphumrantī, 10.5b krnotri, 10.6d yachanti, 11.4c vayunāna, 11.5a sānyeṣām, 11.5d samatsyu, 11.6c, abhṛtam, 12.3b asyam, 12.3d sasanān, 12.5b rñjān, 12.5c uchuttram, 12.8b suvantam, 12.9b śatrūna, 13.3a rājāna, 13.8a rāyāni, 14.4a rṣṭan, 14.7b ye, 14.8a kṣiṇataḥ, 14.9d muñcamv, amhasaśa, 14.10c samvatsarasyam, 15.3c jījavam, 15.5b kuliyā, 15.8c eṣāt davidvyabheṣajī, 16.4a dagdhena, 17.3a mena, 17.4a prvyām, 17.7b dastah trstāptadamsabhih, 18.3c jadi, 18.6a diva, 18.7a nrtyata, 18.9c ghora, 19.5b varpena, 20.3ab bheşajebhirnvā, 20.4c prā, 20.5a dasto, 20.5c daivyasa, 20.8b stanaitnavo, 20.10c śatnyam, 21.1c ya, 21.2a yaśupat{i}ī, 22.2c ta, 22.4a pṛthivyā, 22.5cd sasyā yena, 22.9c vadhīrm, 22.10d maṛtbhiḥ, 23.2a asirm me, 23.6b lāvaṇyā?, paribhuṇyām, 23.6d yāvam, 23.7b ya, 23.11a manas, 23.13a samudrad.

## 2. Orthography, Spelling mistakes, Sandhi

The script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of the Kashmirian manuscript and of the Orissa manuscripts have been studied in great detail by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXII–XXIV and GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII–XXXIV, respectively.

In what follows, therefore, I will limit myself to list the graphic mistakes found in kāṇḍa 15, and to discussing the types of sandhi encountered in this book. As concerns the sandhi, I have

generally decided to adopt the editorial policy of GRIFFITHS 2009, as I have not found any arguments against it.

#### **Vowels:**

 $\mathbf{a} > \mathbf{\bar{a}}^7$  Or 1.1a, K 1.3b, Or-K 1.6d, K 3.3b, K 10.5b, K 11.1b, Or 12.2b, Or 12.3b, Or 12.5b, Or 12.6d, K 12.8b, K 12.9b, K 13.10a, K 14.2b, Or 14.10b, K 15.1b, Or 15.1c, Or 15.2a, Or 15.2c, K 16.1b, Or-K 17.5b, Or 17.7b, K 18.2c, Or 18.2d, Or 19.8a, Or 19.8b, Or-K 20.2c, Or 20.4c, K 20.8d, K 21.5e, K 21.8b, K 22.1b, K 22.5a, Or 22.5c, K 22.9c, K 23.6c, Or 23.6d, Or 23.10a, K 23.10d (2×), Or 23.12d

**a** > **i** K 1.1c, Or 1.5c, K 1.7d, K 2.6c, K 3.1c, Or 3.8a, K 5.4b, K 10.5b, K 12.2a, K 12.3b, K 12.3d, Or 12.5d, K 12.7a, K 12.8a, K 14.2b, Or 14.3c, K 15.3b, K 15.7c, K 15.8a, K 16.1d (2×), K 20.5c, K 21.3b, K 21.6d, Or 23.1b, Or-K 23.3b, Or 23.4b, Or 23.13d

**a** > **u** K 1.3c, K 1.8d, K 5.2b, Or 5.2c, K 5.5c, K 5.7c, K 6.8b, K 6.10c, K 10.1b, K 11.3d, Or 11.5d, K 11.9b, K 12.3b, K 12.3d, Or 12.7d, K 13.1b, Or-K 13.3c, K 14.8b, K 14.10b, K 20.7d, K 20.8b

a > e K 1.6d, K 4.6c, Or 12.6a, Or 12.8d, Or 15.9a, Or 19.7b, Or 22.10c

a > o Or 4.5c, Or-K 12.3c, K 12.9b

a > ai K 20.6c

**ā** > **a** K 1.5b, Or-K 1.6d, K 1.7a, K 1.9a, Or 2.3a, K 3.7c, Or 6.1b, Or-K 9.4a, Or 10.4c, K 10.6d, Or 10.9c, Or 11.2d, Or 11.6, K 11.6c, Or 12.3c, K 12.4a, Or 12.7b, Or 12.7c, Or 13.4c, Or 13.5c, Or 13.10c, K 14.2b, K 15.1b, Or 15.3d, Or 15.4d, Or 15.5a, Or 15.6b, K 16.4b, Or 17.5b, Or 17.6a, K 18.2a, Or 18.4a Or 18.9c, Or 20.7d, K 20.10d, Or 22.2d, Or 23.1a, K 23.1d, Or 23.6a, K 23.10d, Or 23.13a

 $\bar{a} > u \text{ Or } 21.5b$ 

 $\bar{a} > o$  K 2.3d, Or 9.5a, Or 12.7c, K 15.1a, Or 23.1d

 $\bar{a} > \bar{i} \text{ K } 12.10c$ 

**i** > **a** K 1.3d, Or 1.7c, K 2.6c, K 3.3d, K 4.1d, Or 5.9d, Or 6.7b, K 6.10c, K 7.1c, K 9.4c, Or 11.4c, Or 11.6b, Or 12.4c, K 12.5a, Or 12.6c, K 14.2b, K 15.5b, Or 16.4a, Or 18.10d, K 20.4a, K 21.4b, K 22.8a, K 23.2bc, K 23.3d, K 23.4d, K 23.13d

**i** > **ī** Or 2.1a, Or 2.6a, Or 3.8a, Or 4.1d, Or 5.9a, Or 9.4b, Or 9.5b, Or 12.2c, Or 12.4c, K 12.9c, Or 14.2a, Or 15.6a, Or-K 16.2d, Or 16.3c, Or 16.4c, Or 17.5a, K 18.7a (2×), K 18.10d, Or-K 21.5b, Or 23.2b

i > u K 5.2d, K 6.3d, K 11.3d, K 16.10a, K 17.1a, K 17.2a, K 17.3a, K 17.7a

i > r K 1.6b, K 2.3c, K 11.2d, Or 15.4b

ī > a Or 1.9a, K 10.6c, Or 12.6a, Or 16.2c

 $\bar{i} > \bar{a} \text{ K } 15.7b$ 

ī > i Or 1.1c, Or 1.4b, Or 1.9a, Or 2.8d, Or 5.10a, Or 11.8a, Or 12.6a, Or 12.6c, Or 15.6b, Or 15.6d, Or-K 15.7b (2×), Or 16.1b, Or 16.3b, Or 17.3a, Or 18.4b, Or 18.9d, Or 19.6b, Or 20.3a, Or 20.3d, Or 22.5c

 $\bar{i} > u \text{ K } 19.6b$ 

 $\bar{i} > e \text{ K } 5.10a$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The notation  $a > \bar{a}$  is to be read: instead of a, the manuscripts read  $\bar{a}$ . The siglum Or stands for one, more than one, or even all the Orissa manuscripts.

```
u > a Or 1.3a, Or 1.4b, Or 1.9c, Or 3.3c, Or 5.5b, Or 6.1b, Or-K 6.8b, K 7.3a, Or 12.1a, Or
12.1d, K 13.1b, K 14.2a, K 16.2a, K 17.4b, Or 18.3b, Or 20.8a, K 21.2c, K 22.7a, K 23.3a, Or
23.13b
   \mathbf{u} > \bar{\mathbf{a}} Or 1.4b
   \mathbf{u} > \mathbf{i} \text{ K } 3.3c, \text{ K } 15.9a
   u > ū Or 2.2d, Or 2.3c, Or 2.7b, Or 3.8b, Or 5.4a, Or 11.4a, Or 18.3a, Or 18.6c, K 20.1b
   u > o K 12.9c
   \mathbf{u} > \dot{\mathbf{n}} Or 6.2b
   \bar{\mathbf{u}} > \mathbf{u} Or 1.7c, Or 2.2a, Or 3.3d, Or 6.3d, Or 11.9c, Or 12.1a, Or 12.11a, Or 18.3b, Or 18.5c,
Or 20.1d, Or 21.3c
   \bar{\bf u} > {\bf r} Or 12.11a
   \bar{\mathbf{u}} > \mathbf{au} \text{ K } 14.3\text{ b, K } 15.3\text{ d}
   r > u Or 6.1b, Or 10.9c, K 18.6c
   r > ra Or 12.5b
   r > ru K 5.5b, K 12.5b
   \bar{r} > r K 9.3a
   e > a K 9.5b, K 11.4a, K 12.8a, Or 23.11c, K 23.13b
   e > i K 17.5b, K 22.2a
   e > \bar{t} K 10.4a, K 15.1c, K 19.7a, K 23.11c
   e > o Or 1.3b, Or 2.6c, Or 10.4c, Or 12.9c, Or 20.6b, Or 20.8b, Or 20.10b, Or 21.2bd, K
21.8a, K 22.7a, Or 22.8a
   e > ai Or 22.10c
   \mathbf{o} > \mathbf{a} \text{ K } 10.10 \text{b}, \text{ K } 14.10 \text{a}
   o > \bar{a} Or 12.1c
   \mathbf{o} > \mathbf{u} \text{ K } 11.4d, \text{ K } 21.4c
   o > e Or 1.2c, K 1.3c, Or 18.4d
   o > au Or 2.1a, K 5.1b, K 7.4a, Or 10.5a, Or 11.4a, Or 12.8a, K 16.2b
   ai > \bar{i} K 3.6a
   ai > e K 1.6b, Or 1.7d
   au > \bar{a} \times 2.8b
   au > e K 12.7b
   au > o Or 1.4b, K 21.2c, K 22.1a, K 23.5c, K 23.6c
   ri > r Or 20.9b
   \mathbf{ru} > \mathbf{r} Or 1.7c, 2.3a, 2.4a, 3.3b, 3.8a, 3.8b, 3.9b, 3.10a, 4.4c, 4.10a, 5.1c, 5.3b, 5.4c, 6.3d,
6.6b, 7.2a, 8.3a, 11.7a, 11.9b, 12.4b, 13.1b (2×), 13.3a, 13.8a, 14.6a, 15.1d, 15.3b, 15.3d, 15.4a,
15.6c, 15.7c, 15.8b, 15.9d, 15.10d, 16.1a, 16.2b, 16.3c, 16.4c, 16.9a, 17.4b, 17.7c, 17.8b, 18.1b,
```

18.5c, 18.10c, 20.1a, 20.2a, 20.2d, 20.3b, 20.5a, 20.9b, 21.3a, 22.1b, 22.5d, 22.7b, 22.8c, 22.10d, 23.3a, 23.4a, 23.5c, 23.6c, 23.12b

ru > r Or 6.3c, 6.6b, 8.2a

 $r\bar{u} > r$  Or 21.2a

rū > r̄ Or 1.2b, Or 1.6a, Or 6.3c, Or 6.6b, Or 8.2a, K 104c, K 10.7d, K 12.6e, K 12.9b, Or 20.7b

#### **Velars:**

k > g K 1.7c, 12.10a

```
k > gh K 12.7b
kh > ch K 12.3b
g > k K 3.10c
g > gr K 16.1b
g > m Or 1.4d
g > § Or 3.3d, Or 15.9b
```

#### **Palatals:**

c > cy K 1.2d c > j K 1.7c, K 6.7d c > t K 12.3b, K 12.5b, K 18.1c c > n Or 12.3b c > ś K 13.6b ch > ts Or 11.10c ch > śch K 1.2b, 1.7d, 2.5c, 5.3c, 6.1c, 6.2a, 10.6d, 10.9b, 11.2d, 11.10c, 12.11e, 15.4d, 16.1c, 18.5d, 18.6a, 18.6c, 22.2d, 22.6d, 23.7b j > t Or 4.3a, Or 11.6a, K 20.6c j > d Or 1.2d, Or 1.8c j > n Or 2.5b, Or 5.2b j > y Or 1.3b, Or 3.3d, Or 8.5a, Or 10.2b, Or 10.2d, Or 11.8d, Or 11.10a, Or 12.3a

#### **Retroflex:**

\$\dot{\text{t}}\$ Or 1.9a
\$\dot{\text{t}}\$ | K 3.4b, K 11.8c, K 12.3d, K 20.5b, k 21.5e, K 23.4a
\$\dot{\text{dh}} > \dot{\text{d}}\$ Or 20.4b
\$\dot{\text{t}}\$ > t Or 12.6d
\$\dot{\text{n}}\$ > n K 18.7c
\$\dot{\text{s}}\$ > \$\delta\$ Or 10.7a

#### **Dentals:**

t > c K 3.6c, Or 3.9b, K 6.6c, K 11.2b, K 16.6a, K 20.5a t > j K 1.1b, K 10.9b, Or-K 12.5b, K 21.4a t > th Or-K 9.4a (2×), Or 12.9d t > d K 1.1c, Or 5.3c, Or-K 6.9a, K 9.4a, K 18.10b t > dh K 16.1d t > n K 12.5a t > y K 3.1c, r 6.7c t > v K 15.6b t > h Or 5.3d th > t K 8.9a, K 20.10c th > ş K 12.6b d > g Or-K 2.1b, K 15.7a d > j K 11.1b d > t K 1.1c, K 1.2d, Or 1.7a, Or 4.1a, K 15.3a d > dr Or-K 17.7b

```
d > n \text{ K } 10.1b
```

d > r K 3.7a, K 5.6a, K 12.7b

d > v Or 22.8b

**d > dh** K 2.8d, K 10.2b, K 10.5b, K 12.10c, K 20.7c, K 22.10d, Or 23.6a

**dh** > **d** Or 2.2a, K 2.3a, K 10.4c, K 12.10b, Or 18.3a, K 22.7d, K 23.2c, K 23.2e

**dh** > **ddh** Or 6.9c, Or 21.1b, Or 22.5d

**dh > bh** Or 4.3b

dh > h Or 17.4b, Or 23.2c

n > n Or 13.4c

n > t K 10.7c, Or 11.2d

n > r K 1.1a, K 19.3b

n > s K 14.2b

 $n > \dot{m} K 3.2a$ 

#### Labials:

p > j Or-K 3.7a

p > t Or 21.2d

p > m K 12.2a

p > y Or 2.7a, Or 21.2a

p > r Or 5.8c, Or 11.5c

**p** > **v** Or-K 6.2b, K 14.2a, Or 18.5d, Or 23.13c

**ph > p** Or 23.12e

**b** > **m** Or-K 6.6a, Or 10.9c

b > v K 4.4a, K 23.8e

**bh** > **gh** Or-K 5.6d

**bh** > **t** Or 20.4c

bh > p K 2.4d, K 3.7d

bh > v Or 2.3a, K 3.7d

m > d Or 5.8c

m > n K 6.8b

**m** > **v** K 9.6b, K 10.9c, K 12.11c, Or-K 20.2b, Or-K 23.11c

**m** > **s** Or 5.9b, K 9.6b, K 10.10d, K 11.3c, K 11.9b, K 12.1a, Or 12.1b, K 12.8a, K 20.4a,

K 22.1d, K 22.9c, K 23.5d

#### **Semivowels:**

**y** > **j** Or 2.4b, K 2.7b, Or 5.3d, Or 5.8a, K 6.8b, Or 12.2c, Or 12.2d, Or 13.10c, Or 21.8d

y > jy Or 1.5a

y > n K 1.7d

y > m K 17.7a

y > yy K 10.1b

v > r K 20.9c

y > h K 3.3c, Or 12.8d

r > c K 20.3c

r > n K 13.1b, K 15.3b, K 19.6b

r > y K 6.5a

```
r > v Or 17.5a

l > l Or 19.7b

l > d K 23.7a

l > ll K 18.3b

v > u K 10.1b

v > ū Or 10.1b

v > d K 4.4d, K 13.8c

v > n K 1.1b, K 14.6a

v > p Or 1.1b, Or 6.4a, Or 10.7c, Or 11.2c, Or 11.5d, K 12.6b, K 20.2b, Or 22.8b

v > bh Or-K 11.6c

v > m Or 4.10a, Or 10.1a

v > y K 5.5c, K 11.2d, Or 11.5a
```

#### Sibilants:8

```
\dot{s} > c \text{ K } 14.7c
 \hat{s} > ch \text{ K } 15.5ab
 \hat{s} > \hat{j} \text{ Or } 10.2b
 ś > t Or-K 18.2d, Or 20.4d
 \pm > \pm K 10.3c (\pm i > \pm i), Or 12.8c (\pm a > \pm a), K 23.7a (\pm a > \pm a)
 \pm s \times 1.4b \text{ ($\dot{s}u > su)}, \text{ Or } 1.7b \text{ ($\dot{\bar{a}} > s\bar{a})}, \text{ Or } 2.1a \text{ ($\dot{\bar{a}} > s\bar{a})}, \text{ Or } 2.2a \text{ ($\dot{a}u > sau)}, \text{ Or } 3.1c \text{ ($\dot{a}u > su)}, \text{ Or } 3.1c \text{ ($\dot
 > sa), Or 5.6b (\pmi > si), Or 6.6c (\pma > sa), K 10.9b (\pmri > sr), Or 10.10d (\pma > sa), Or 11.9a
 (\pm v > sv), Or-K 12.3a (\pm o > so), Or 13.7a (\pm a > sa), Or 18.7c (\pm u > su), Or 18.8b (\pm v > sv),
 K 18.10c (śru > sru), Or 20.1a (śa > sa), K 23.2b (śi > sa), Or-K 23.7b (ś\bar{a} > s\bar{a})
 s > t K 20.5a
 s > p \text{ Or } 10.3b, \text{ Or } 19.5b
 \S > \S Or 10.6b (\S a > \S a), K 12.2d (\S \bar{a} > \S a), K 12.6c (\S \bar{a} > \S a), Or 15.9a (\S i > \S i), Or 21.1d
 (sa > śa)
s > s \times 10.6b  (sa > sa), Or 15.3c (si > si), Or 15.9a (si > si)
s > m Or 12.3c, Or 12.3d, K 12.5a, K 12.5b, K 22.2d, K 22.10d, K 23.6c
s > \acute{s} Or 1.6d (sa > \acute{s}a), Or 6.7a (si > \acute{s}i), Or 10.5c (sa > \acute{s}a), Or 10.6b (su > \acute{s}u), Or-K 12.2d
 (si > śi), K 18.7c (s\bar{a} > ś\bar{a}), K 23.2be (sa > śa), Or 23.10d (sa > śa)
s > s Or 10.6b (su > su)
s > sy Or 15.6d
h > j \text{ Or } 4.5b
h > d Or 18.3d, Or 20.5a
h > v \text{ Or } 1.3d
 h > 1 \text{ K } 18.6c
```

#### **Clusters:**

aṁ > o Or 13.1c, Or 13.3b, K 22.1d aḥ > aṁ Or 16.1b

<sup>8</sup> The confusion of the sibilants is one of the most common mistakes, both in **K** and **Or**. If a sibilant is mixed up with another sibilant, I specify the phonetic context of the mistake, because there seems to be a higher frequency of this mistake in the context before i/y (see KULIKOV 2009: 142, with ft. 3). The examples culled from  $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$  15, however, are not conclusive in this respect.

 $ah > \bar{a} K 12.8d$ 

**ām** > **ā** Or 14.9a

 $\bar{a}h > \bar{a}n \text{ K } 14.2c$ 

iy > y Or 13.2c

 $\bar{r} > \bar{r} K 18.4c$ 

 $r\tilde{n}j > ra\tilde{n}j$  Or 12.5b

 $r\tilde{n}j > rumj K 12.5b$ 

rtt > rt Or 5.5b

**kth** > **ktv** K 17.8a

kr > tkr Or 12.5c

**kr** > **ttr** Or 12.5c

kr > tr Or 14.7c

 $k_{5} > khy K 23.1a$ 

 $k_{\$} > \$ y \text{ K } 17.8b$ 

 $k \sin > \sin K 17.8a$ 

kşv > kş Or-K 1.6b

ksv > sv Or 1.6b

**gn** > **g** Or 15.6a

cc > śc K 23.13a

**nk** > **mk** Or-K 2.2c, Or 10.3c, K 10.5c, K 12.6b

nkşv > mkşv Or 4.5a

 $\dot{\mathbf{n}}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{h} > \dot{\mathbf{m}}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{h} \text{ K } 19.1a\ (2\times)$ 

**ng** > **mg** Or-K 11.8a, Or 18.6c, K 18.10b, K 18.10e

**ngh** > **mgh** Or-K 11.5a

 $\dot{n}dh > gdh \text{ K } 1.10d$ 

**ghn** > **ghr** Or 11.5b

jy > y Or 5.9d, Or 5.10d, Or 13.8a, Or 15.5b

**ñc** > **mc** Or 1.4c, Or 13.8a, Or 14.10a, Or 18.10d

 $\tilde{\mathbf{n}}\mathbf{j} > \dot{\mathbf{m}}\mathbf{j} \times 3.6a$ 

dv > dy Or 11.8a

**nd > md** K 18.1c

 $t\bar{t}y > ty \text{ K } 3.6d$ 

 $t_r > ta \text{ K } 23.6d$ 

 $t_{r} > t_{i} K 17.6b$ 

 $t_r > tya K 17.7b$ 

**tr > dr** Or 16.6b

tk > tth K 12.5c

**tt > t** K 6.1a

**tn > ttr** K 2.1a

tn > tm K 10.4d

tn > ty Or 12.3a

**tn > rbh** K 1.7c

ty > y Or 9.4c

tr > ttr K 1.1d, 1.2b, 1.3d, 1.4a, 1.6d, 1.7a, 1.7b, 1.7d, 1.8c (2×), 1.8d, 2.2d, 3.10a, 5.3b, 7.1a, 7.5a, 10.2c, 10.4d, 10.7c, 10.9c, 11.3b, 11.7b, 12.6c, 12.6e, 12.8c, 12.8d, 14.3a, 18.1d, 22.5a, 22.5b, 22.9d

**tr** > **t** Or 1.2b, Or 10.4d

tv > t K 12.11d

tv > ty K 3.10c

tv > stv Or-K 2.8c

**ts > ch** Or 23.13b

ts > tsy Or 11.5d

**tsv > ts** Or 12.10d

thn > nthn Or 6.7b

**thy** > **th** Or 13.7a, Or 13.7b

damsma > damsu, dasma Or 17.7b, damsma K 17.7b

**ddh > dh** K 6.6a, K 11.8c

dm > dd K 18.1d

dv > d Or 21.1d

dv > v Or-K 21.1d

**dbh** > **tbh** Or 21.8d, Or 22.8c, Or 22.10d

dv > dv K 22.7a

**dhv > dhm** Or 9.6b

nt > ntt Or 4.4b

 $nt > \dot{m}c \text{ K } 12.8b$ 

**nt** > **mt** Or 3.6c, Or 4.4d, Or 10.3a, Or 10.3d, Or 10.6d, Or 11.3c, K 11.5a, Or 12.10a, K 14.3c, K 19.1b, Or 19.4a, Or 22.1d

**ntv** > **mtv** Or 3.2d, Or 6.6d, Or 6.7b, Or 6.8d, Or 9.4b, Or-K 13.1d, Or 13.6d, Or 13.8d, Or 13.10d, Or 14.1d, Or 14.9d

**nd > d** Or 11.10c

nd > md K 23.7a

**ndh** > **ṁdh** Or 14.5b

nv > n Or 12.3c

**nv** > **nn** Or 1.8c

**nv** > **ṁn** Or 1.8c

**pr** > **tri** K 12.9c

**pr** > **pu** Or 12.9c

**mrt** > **mmrt** Or 6.1b, Or 6.5b, K 16.2a

mbh > m Or 12.10c

 $mbh > \dot{m}bh \text{ K } 12.10c$ 

**yit** > **it** Or 12.3a, Or 20.8b, Or 23.11b

rc > rcc Or 1.4c, 4.6c, 4.10c, 5.3a, 6.1a, 6.2c

rt > t Or 1.7a, K 14.10b

rt > rtt Or 1.2d, Or 1.9b, Or 2.6a, Or 10.1d, Or 14.2b, Or 14.10b, Or 20.5c, Or 21.5f

rt > nt K 1.2d, K 1.9b, K 10.1d

**rtr > tr** Or 1.7a

rtr > nt K 23.5a

**rtr > rt** Or 23.5a

rtr > rtt Or 23.5a  $(2\times)$ 

**rd** > **d** Or 4.1c

rd > nd K 4.1c, K 4.2c

rdr > dr Or 1.8c

ry > jy K 20.1b

rh > rh Or 20.7a

rh > h K 20.7b

**vr** > **vra** K 20.6c

vy > ty K 13.7c

ly > ty Or 20.10c

ly > tny Or 20.10c

yu > kr K 15.7a

**st** > **pt** Or 17.7b

st > sk K 2.3a

**st** > **sth** K 12.9c, K 17.6b, K 17.7b, K 19.7a, K 20.6b

st > sn Or 1.4b

st > sy K 1.5d

sth > st Or 1.9b, Or 20.7d

sth > sn K 1.9b

şnya > şnimya, şnaya Or 1.4a

 $\mathbf{sv} > \mathbf{sv} \text{ Or } 4.2a$ 

sv > hsv Or 4.2a

 $\dot{\mathbf{sr}} > \dot{\mathbf{sr}}$  Or 18.9c

 $\dot{s}c > sy K 22.5b$ 

 $\pm sm > sm Or 5.7a$ 

**śri > śru** K 23.12d

**śv**>**gv**K 18.10a

 $\dot{s}v > \dot{s}k \text{ K } 20.7d$ 

stv > st Or 1.7b

sth > st Or 1.7b

sth > stv K 1.7b

 $sn > \dot{s}v \text{ K } 4.5b$ 

sn > sm Or 4.5b

**sm > kşm** Or 17.7a

sm > ss K 11.2d, K 20.1c

 $sy > \dot{s}y$  Or 16.4b, K 23.10d

sy > s K 1.3b, Or 12.3a, K 12.11a, Or 12.11c, Or 20.5c, Or 21.4c

sy > ss K 20.8d

sy > sv Or-K 1.5d, K 2.8a, K 12.7b

sv > s Or 1.5b

han > hn K 1.3b

hr > da K 15.5a

**hṛnī** > **hari** K 20.2c

hr > d Or 23.2c

hr > d Or 23.2c

 $\dot{m}t > nt Or 3.1c$ 

 $\dot{m}dh > ndh \text{ Or } 2.4d$ 

**mn** > **nn** Or 4.1a, Or-K 11.8c, Or-K 12.4c

**mbh** > **mbh** K 1.8b, K 11.6b, Or-K 17.5a, K 17.6a

 $\dot{m}y > nn \text{ K } 12.5a$ 

**mv** > **mv** Or 2.2b, Or 7.6a, 7.7a, Or 10.4c, Or 22.10d

 $\dot{m}v > vy \text{ K } 23.8a$ 

 $\dot{m}\dot{s} > \dot{s} \text{ Or } 13.3c$ 

 $\dot{m}h > \dot{n}g \text{ Or } 20.1c$ 

**mh** > **h** Or 13.1d, Or 13.6d, K 20.1c

#### Sandhi:

-an k- > -am k- Or-K 5.5a

-an d- > -am d- Or 1.1a, Or-K 15.9d, Or 15.10d, Or 20.7ab, Or 23.12d

-an dh- > -am dh- Or-K 20.7a

 $-\bar{a}n \# > -\bar{a}m \# Or-K 22.1b$ 

 $-\bar{a}n d - > -\bar{a}m d - Or 14.5a$ , Or 22.1c

 $-\bar{a}n bh - > -\bar{a}m bh - K 23.5d$ 

 $-\bar{a}n m - > -\bar{a}\dot{m} m - K 12.2b$ 

-an n - > -am n - K 20.7cd

-an y- > -a $\dot{m}$  y- Or 12.9b

-an  $n - > -a\dot{m} n - K 3.7cd$ 

-an s- > -a $\dot{m}$  s- K 22.10c

 $-\bar{a}n y - > -\bar{a}m y - Or 20.1c$ 

-ām u->-āmm u Or 14.11b, K 20.9a

 $-\bar{a}ms t - > -as t - Or 14.2cd$ 

-ir u- > ir Or 20.3ab

-ir n- > -in n- K 11.1a, K 12.5cd, K 21.3d

-ir n - > -ih n - Or 12.5cd

**-ir m- > -irm m-** Or 23.2a

-iś c- > -iḥ c- Or 12.6d

-nn a - > -m a - K 20.9a

-nn a- > -mn a- Or 5.1c, Or 5.5d

-nn i- > -mn i- Or 1.6a, K 20.7c

-nn i- > - $\dot{m}$ nn i- Or 20.7c

-nn i- > -n i- K 1.6a

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-y a- > -ī ' Or 2.4a

-r u- > r Or 2.3d

-ś ch- > -ḥ ch- Or 2.2c
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#### Double sandhi

As noted by LUBOTSKY 2002: 9, double sandhi is frequently encountered at the juncture  $-\bar{a}$  a-  $(>\bar{a})$ , both in **Or** and in **K**; in PS 15 it is found at 7.1a (**Or**), 18.5a (**K**), 18.8d (**Or**), 20.3d (**K**), 22.7d (**K**), Or 23.9cd (**Or**). There are also examples of double sandhi in different positions, viz.  $-a\bar{a}$ -  $>\bar{a}$  at 11.3a, 21.6a (**K**),  $-\bar{a}\bar{a}$ -  $>\bar{a}$  at 22.2d (**K**),  $-\bar{a}i$ - >e at 4.7a (**Or**). As a corollary to this phenomenon, the manuscripts introduce  $-\bar{a}$  a- for simple  $\bar{a}$  (**K** at 4.6a; one Orissa manuscript has  $-\bar{a}$  '- instead of  $\bar{a}$  once at 1.8ab), -u u- for simple  $\bar{u}$  (**K** at 1.7ab), -a i- for e (**K** at 11.7c; once also -e i- for e at 6.1a).

#### Abhinihita sandhi

I edit initial a- when it is metrically required and is written both in **Or** and **K** (1.2c, 1.3b, 2.1b, 2.1d, 2.2b, 2.2d, 2.3d, 2.5b, 5.1b, 5.4d, 5.9d, 6.5a, 11.2a, 12.4c, 21.5f, 21.7b, 21.8b). In four cases (3.4b, 11.9d, 12.7a, 23.11c), the readings of the manuscripts are not unanimous, in that **K** shows minor graphic mistakes or has a lacuna: in these cases I follow the evidence of **Or**.

If one of the two branches of transmission offers a metrically required a- against '(avagraha) or Ø in the other, I edit the former: 1.5cd (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 3.1cd (-e a- K, -e '- Or), 3.2ab (o a- Or, -o Ø- Or-K), 3.9a (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 4.4b (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 4.4d (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 5.10d (-e a- Or, -e Ø- K), 6.3a (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 6.9b (-e a- K, -e '- Or), 9.6c (-o a- K, -o Ø- Or), 12.3b (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 14.7ab (-o a- K, -o '- Or), 18.4d (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 18.10ef (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 20.8a (-e a- Or, -e Ø- K), 20.8c (-e a- Or, -e Ø- K), 21.5fg (-e a- K, -a '- Or), 21.8d (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 22.8c (-o a- Or, -o '- Or-K), 22.10a (-o a- Or, -o Ø- K), 23.13cd (-o a- K, -o '- Or).

I print a- when avagraha or  $\emptyset$  is found in the manuscripts, but restoration of initial a- is metrically required: 6.3b, 10.7b, 12.1d, 14.4b.

I print 'or (') when *avagraha* or Ø is found in one or more manuscripts and the meter requires elision: 2.6c, 3.1a, 3.5a, 5.6a, 7.2a, 7.4a, 9.4a, 10.5b, 18.10f.

#### Final -n before vowel

The regular and expected sandhi -nn V- is generally observed in the manuscripts, although it is unanimously preserved in all the manuscripts only at 11.3c. **K** shows a tendency to render -nn V- as -n V- (1.6a), -m V- (20.9a; a graphic mistake for the more common -m V-?) or -mn V- (20.7c). This last spelling is found also in **Or** (1.6a, 5.1c, 5.5d). One Orissa manuscript has the 'hypercharacterized' sandhi -mnn V- once (20.7c).

As noted by Griffiths 2009: LVI, "the sandhi of a final nasal after a long  $\bar{a}$  before an initial vowel is problematic," and in deciding between the two alternatives  $-\bar{a}m$  or  $-\bar{a}n$ , "the editor of the PS is confronted with a bewildering variation between **K** and the Or. mss., without any clear means to decide what the reading of the archetype may have been". **K** uses a separate sign for anunāsika (m) but this sound is sometimes spelled with the anusvāra (m). The Orissa manuscripts usually show -n, or m for anunāsika. As regards PS 15, I distinguish the following cases:

There are four cases which point to the assumption of  $anun\bar{a}sika$  in the archetype, leaving very little doubt about it. In three of these cases both branch of transmission have  $anun\bar{a}sika$ : 14.2b ( $-\bar{a}\dot{n}$ , u-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ,  $-\bar{a}\dot{m}mu$ -  $\mathbf{K}$ ), 20.3a, ( $-\bar{a}\dot{n}$ , i-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ,  $-\bar{a}\dot{m}$  i-  $\mathbf{K}$ ), 21.7d ( $-\bar{a}\dot{n}$ , a-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ,  $-\bar{a}\dot{m}$  a-  $\mathbf{K}$ ); in one case, at 11.5b, one branch of transmission has  $anun\bar{a}sika$  while the other has  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  ( $-\bar{a}\dot{n}$ , u-,  $-\bar{a}\dot{m}\dot{n}$ , u-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ,  $-\bar{a}\dot{m}$  u-  $\mathbf{K}$ ).

There are two ambiguous cases. At 11.3c, the Orissa manuscripts have  $anun\bar{a}sika$  ( $-\bar{a}\dot{n}$ , a-) and **K** an erroneous reading ( $-\bar{a}t$  a-); at 5.6a, the Orissa manuscripts have  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  ( $-\bar{a}\dot{m}$  a-), and **K** again a corrupt reading (-a a-). Even if there is no conclusive evidence, nothing in the manuscripts supports the adoption of the dental nasal, so I edit  $anun\bar{a}sika$  in both cases.

There are some cases that clearly point to the adoption of -n. Unanimous evidence for -n is found at 5.4c *marutvān adhi*, 12.3c *sasanvān ayutam* (with intervening pāda boundary), 12.7c *vadhrān uta*, 14.5a *devān idam*, 14.9b *puṇyajanān uta*, 15.7d *pārayān iti*, 16.3d *pārayān iti*. I edit -n also at the end of pāda 22.1c *marutaḥ śivān* | (against **Or** and **K** *śivām*).

The sandhi  $-in/\bar{u}n$  V- remains unchanged: cf. 13.1a vanaspatīn oṣadhīr (with intervening pāda boundary), 14.2a rtupatīn ārtavām (with intervening pāda boundary), 14.9c mrtyūn ekaśatam. There is only one case in which the Orissa manuscripts clearly suggest a sandhi  $-\bar{u}m$ r V-: at 10.7d **Or** read śatrūn r anapavyayantah, **K** reads śatrīm apavyayantah. Since this verse is borrowed from RV 6.75.7d, GRIFFITHS 2009: LVIII–LIX suggested that the sandhi of **Or** can be assumed to have arisen under influence of the RV itself, because the reading of **K** does not support the insertion of r.

#### Anunāsika before s

This spelling, which is common in **K**, occurs at 10.3b and 10.3d; I edit the *anusvāra* according to the use of the Orissa manuscripts. Note the mistake of **K** at 13.8ab ( $-\bar{a}n\ s$ - instead of  $-\bar{a}m\ s$ -).

#### Final -n before c-

In PS 15, there is one single example of the practice to insert  $\dot{s}$  after -n before c-: at 20.9c all the Orissa manuscripts, with one exception, read  $yakşm\bar{a}\dot{m}\dot{s}$  ca ( $\mathbf{K}$   $rakş\bar{a}\dot{m}si$ ).

#### Final -n before j-

In PS 15 we come across two cases in which the manuscripts inconsistently write  $\tilde{n}$  or  $\dot{m}$  before j: 10.3cd ( $-a\tilde{n}$  j-  $\mathbf{K}$ ,  $-a\dot{m}$  j-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ), 12.1a ( $-\bar{u}\tilde{n}$  j-  $\mathbf{Or}$ ,  $-\bar{u}\dot{m}$  j-  $\mathbf{K}$ ). In my edition I have regularized  $\tilde{n}$  everywhere.

#### Final -m before k- c- t- p- etc.

I edit this sandhi (on which cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XI-LXII) with  $anusv\bar{a}ra$ , although the manuscripts sometimes show the assimilation of the final -m to the following consonant: 2.6c (\*- $\bar{a}m$  t->  $-\bar{a}n$  t- Or), 3.2c (-am t- Or), 6.2c (-am c- Or-K,  $-a\tilde{n}$  c- Or), 6.3c (-am c- Or-K,  $-a\tilde{n}$  c- Or), 11.2c (-am c- Or,  $-a\tilde{n}$  c- Or-K), 11.7c ( $^+$ -am n-> -an n- Or,  $-\bar{a}$  n- K), 12.7d ( $^+$ -am t-> -an t- Or 12.7d), 12.10a (-am n- Or-K, -an n- Or), 15.3c (-am t- Or-K,  $-a\tilde{n}$  t- Or), 15.5b ( $^+$ -am t-> -an t- Or), 15.5d (-am t- K, -an t- Or), 15.6c (-am t- Or-K, -an t- Or), 18.10f (-am n- Or-K, -an n- Or), 20.10b (-am c- Or-K, -an t- Or), 23.6a ( $^+$ --am d-> -an d- Or), 23.9d (-am t- Or-K, -an t- Or).

#### Final -t before ś-

This sandhi occurs six times, at 1.6a *tac chakeyam*, 2.7b *yac chukram*, 4.3d *ic chivās*, 12.5c *uc chukram*, 14.8c *purastāc chakrā*, 23.10b *śivāc chivatarā*. **K** is consistent in the treatment of this sandhi, and always writes *śch*. In the passages mentioned above, the Orissa manuscripts are not unanimous in rendering this sandhi and show various spellings:  $-c \, ch$ - (1.6a, 2.7b, 12.5c),  $-t \, ś$ - (4.3d, 14.8c, 23.10b),  $-t \, s$ - (1.6a),  $-t \, c$ - (18.4b),  $-t \, s$ - (1.6a, 12.5c, 14.8c, 23.10b).

#### Final visarga

The Orissa manuscripts have the usual system of -h for -s before  $\pm s$ ,  $\pm s$ , while **K** assimilates the final -s to  $-\pm s$  (1.3a, 1.3b, K 10.2c, 10.9b, 11.2d, 12.3c, 15.5a, 15.5c, 20.4d, 22.6d, 22.9b, 23.4b),  $-\pm s$  (there are no examples in PS 15) -s (1.6c, 2.5b, 6.2c, 6.3a, 6.5a, 6.5d, 6.7a, 6.8c, 6.9c, 6.9d, 7.6a, 8.7a, 10.7b, 10.9cd, 10.10a, 11.1cd, 11.2b, 11.3d, 11.8c, 12.10a, 12.10ab, 12.11a, 13.6ab, 13.9a, 14.1b, 14.5a, 14.5c, 14.8d, 14.10d, 16.1a, 17.5a, 18.6a, 22.7b, 23.13a, 23.13c), showing occasional *pausa*-forms at pāda boundaries (2.3cd, 2.4cd, 3.2bc, 10.10ab, 11.7bc, 14.10bc, 15.6cd, 21.7cd) and also in the middle of the pāda (11.2c, 12.6b, 12.11d, 20.7e, 22.2d, 22.10d).

Before k(h)- and p(h)-, the Orissa manuscripts always write visarga (h), while **K** uses, respectively,  $jihv\bar{a}m\bar{u}l\bar{v}ya$ , (h: 4.3d, 7.9a, 11.1d, 21.1d, 22.5a) and  $upadhm\bar{a}n\bar{v}ya$  (h: 1.1a, 1.1b, 1.2a, 1.2d, 1.5b, 1.9b, 2.5a, 2.5c, 3.4c, 3.6d, 3.8d, 4.2d, 4.3d, 4.5d, 5.2a, 5.4a, 6.1c, 6.3c, 6.5b, 6.6d, 7.1a, 8.1a, 8.4a, 9.5a, 10.2d, 10.5c (2×), 10.6a, 10.9a, 10.10a, 10.10c, 11.1a, 11.1c, 11.3b, 11.4a, 11.6a, 11.6b, 12.1c, 12.6d, 12.11d, 13.5a, 13.10b, 14.5c, 14.8a, 14.10a, 16.1b, 18.2a, 18.4a, 18.8b, 18.10d, 19.1a, 19.2a, 19.4a, 22.6c, 22.9b, 22.10c, 23.3a), although not consistently: at several times, **K** also attests a final visarga before p- (-h p- at 1.3c, 1.4c, 1.10c, 3.4c, 4.1c, 6.6b, 6.9a, 8.3a, 9.2a, 9.3a, 10.6d) and k- (-h k- at 10.9ab, 23.3b).

#### Initial and intervocalic ch-

In PS 15, there four cases of initial ch- (1.2b, 2.2c, 8.10a, 19.3b) and eighteen cases of intervocalic -ch- (2.5c, 5.3c, 6.1c, 6.2a, 10.6d, 10.9b, 11.2d, 11.10c, 12.11e, 15.4d, 16.1c, 18.5d, 18.6ab, 22.2d, 22.6d, 23.7b (2×)). **K** always writes  $\dot{s}ch$ ,  $\dot{s}$  while the Orissa manuscripts always write ch, with only one exception: at 11.10c, **Or** unanimously spell the word  $duchun\bar{a}m$  as  $dutsun\bar{a}m$ . Regarding this last spelling, it is instructive to quote GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIV–LXV: "Note also the readings at 6.12.8/6.13.3, where both **K** and **Or** have ts: it thus seems that \*G also had instances of  $ch \rightarrow ts$ . The mss. of the KauśS, which must have circulated in Gujarat simultaneously with, and among the same people as, our archetype and the predecessors of the SS mss. [...], show several cases of ts for ch; we find similar spellings also in another text transmitted in Gujarat, MS 4.14.7:247 ff. tsatatam [...]".

In my edition I follow LUBOTSKY's opinion that "we should keep to the Orissa ms. tradition and edit simple -*ch*- (as is the practice of, for instance, the mss. of the RV)" (2002: 9).

#### Degemination of ttv, tty, ddv, ddy to tv, ty, dv, dy etc.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> As regards the initial *ch*- in **K**, it must be noted that stanza 8.10 is not found in **K** and that at 19.3b **K** reads *sa*-instead of *cha*-. The initial *ch*- of *chandasām* at 2.2c is an exception, probably due to the sandhi with the preceding word (**K** reads *paṅktis chandasām* for *paṅktiś chandasām*).

In PS 15, I've found only two examples of degemination of such clusters in the Orissa manuscripts: for -t tv-, cf. the readings at 15.1c ( $t\bar{a}vat$  tvam K,  $t\bar{a}vatvam$  Or; note that K also shows degemination in the same sequence in the parallel pāda 7.11.10c) and for -d dy-, cf. 15.1a (yovaddyaur K,  $y\bar{a}vadyaur$  Or).

#### Intervocalic d

For a detailed discussion of intervocalic d(h) in the PS, I refer to ZEHNDER 1999: 21 and GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIX–LXXI. This sound occurs ten times in PS 15; the table below shows the variety of this sound's rendering in the manuscripts:

	К	Ku	JM	RM	Pa	Bhattacharya	
3.4b	mŗļa	mŗṛa	mŗṛa	mŗṛa	mŗṛa	मृड	
11.8c	vīļayasvāsthāta	vīŗaÿasvāsthāta	vīŗaÿasvāsthāta	vīŗaÿasvāsthāta	vīŗaÿasvāsthāta	वीड़यस्व	
11.10d	vīḍayasva	vīṛayasva	vīḍaỳasva	vīṛaÿasva	vīṛaÿasva	वीडयस्व	
12.3d	mŗļaya	mŗŗaÿa	mŗŗeha	mŗŗeha	mŗŗeha	मृडेह	
12.4c	vīḍayasva	vīṛaỳasva	vīṛaġasva	vīṛaỳasva	vīṛaỳasva	वीड़यस्व	
20.4b	тīḍhuṣe	mīṛhuṣe	mīṛhuṣe	mīṛhuṣe	mīṛhu(→su)ṣe	मीढुषे	
20.5b	mŗļayāko	mŗļayāko mŗŗaỳāko		mŗḍaÿāko	mŗŗaÿāko	मृडयाको	
21.3d	mŗtaṁ	mṛtaṁ mṛṛataṁ		mŗḍataṁ	mŗŗataṁ	मृडतं	
21.5e	mŗļataṁ	mŗŗataṁ	mŗŗataṁ	mṛḍataṁ	mŗŗataṁ	मृडतं	
23.4a	mŗļayāti	mŗḍaỳāta	mŗŗaÿāta	mŗŗaÿāta	mŗŗaÿāta	मृडयात	

**K** uses a special sign to write the intervocalic allophone of /d/, although not consistently; it is derived from the sign for d by attaching a small diacritic triangle to the upper right side of it. In PS 15, this sign (which is Zehnder's number 1 and is usually transliterated as d) is found in six cases out of ten; at 21.3d, **K** has the erroneous reading  $m_r tam$ , while at 11.10d and 12.4c it writes d. Since in Śāradā script there is no aspirated counterpart of the intervocalic sign d, it is not surprising that **K** reads  $m\bar{t}dhuse$  at 20.4b. 10

The Orissa manuscripts use a sign derived by means of a subscript diacritic dot from d to represent intervocalic d (Zehnder's number 2). The sign is transliterated with r. When they write d (as **Ku** at 23.4a, **JM** at 11.10d, **RM** at 20.5b, 21.3d, 21.5e), it is possibly because of the loss of the diacritic dot under the akṣara.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This is not the only spelling for intervocalic dh in **K**. As noted by GRIFFITHS 2009: LXX n. 110, in the three occurences of this sound in PS 6–7 **K** twice writes dh and once lh.

Bhattacharya's edition is very misleading in this respect, in that in the majority of cases he prints  $\Xi$  (3.4b, 11.10d, 12.3d, 20.5b, 21.3d, 21.5e, 23.4a), but twice  $\Xi$  with a subscript diacritic dot (11.8c, 12.4c), trying to reproduce the akṣara used in the Orissa manuscripts.

Following Griffiths's editorial policy, I have decided to regularize d(h) in my edition.

#### Loss of virāma sign

Some of the mistakes in **Or** are due to the loss of the *virāma* sign in the manuscript tradition. In PS 15, I have found the following cases: n > na **Or** 11.5d, 11.9d, 12.5b, 12.9b, 14.2a, 14.9a, 22.10c; t > ta **Or** 1.9a; t > ta **Or** 1.5d, 5.9d; s > sa **Or** 12.9a; t > ta **Or** 5.3d.

### 3. Arrangement and content of PS 15

#### **Textual divisions**

PS 15 belongs to the second "grand division" of the PS, which includes books nine to 15. The arrangement of the stanzas and hymns is not arbitrary, but governed by a precise rule: throughout this section, there seems to be the implicit norm of ten stanzas per hymn, and no hymn may contain more than fourteen stanzas, such that if a group of connected stanzas contains more than this, it is split over two or more consecutive hymns.<sup>11</sup>

The title of the fifteenth kāṇḍa, *Aṣṭādaśarcakāṇḍa* (namely, 'the kāṇḍa consisting of hymns of eighteen stanzas'), would imply an ostensible norm of 18 stanzas per hymn, but apparently, out of 23 hymns, none conform to this norm. The table below shows the number of stanza in each hymn of PS 15:

Hymns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Number																							
of	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	10	10	11	10	11	10	10	8	10	12	10	8	10	13
stanzas																							

As a consequence of the principles that govern the arrangement of the stanzas into hymns, it is often the case that a group of connected and thematically related stanzas is split into one or two consecutive hymns, as shown in the table below:

Hymns	1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8 9	10 11 12	13 14	15 16 17	18 19	20 21	22 23
Number of	10+8	10+10	10+10	10+10+6	10+10+11	10+11	10+10+8	10+12	10+8	10+13
stanzas										

Therefore, if we consider the combinations of two or more hymns as a single composition, as they are, PS 15 indeed includes ten hymns. It is worth noting that two of them, the first and the ninth, contain 18 stanzas (10+8), the number implied by the title of the kāṇḍa. As will be observed in detail in the commentary, in various cases it is possible, within a particular hymn, to identify the stanzas that are clearly secondary additions, and without which the hymn would conform to the norm of 18. For example, the last four stanzas of hymn 19 are clearly secondary, taken from PS 7.13.11–14. Without them, the eighth hymn of the kāṇḍa would again conform

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Griffiths 2009: LXXIV-LXXXVI.

to the number 18. In other cases, it is almost impossible to reach the number implied by the title; evidently, it had become entirely irrelevant.

#### Mantra abbreviation in the manuscripts

As noted by GRIFFITHS 2009: XLII, "The mss. use several ways of abbreviating (1) stanzas or groups of stanzas repeated from preceding parts of the text, as well as (2) repeated openings and refrains." Both practices are also found in the manuscripts of the ŚS and must be part of a common ancient tradition of manuscript writing.

1) Generally, the abbreviation of repeated stanza(s) is noted in the manuscripts by quoting the  $prat\bar{\imath}ka$ , followed by an indication of the type  $ity\ ek\bar{a}$  (sc.  $\dot{r}c$ -),  $iti\ dve$ ,  $iti\ tisra\dot{h}$  etc. In PS 15 we find two examples of this type of abbreviation.

The first case occurs at 19.9, where all the manuscripts have the *pratīka yā nadir*, followed by the indication *iti catasraḥ*, which refers to PS 7.13.11–14. Since these two sets of four stanzas differ in the refrain of pādas cd, the manuscripts indicate it with the addition of *idam ulungulukottarāḥ* after the *pratīka*; this addition means that the refrain of PS 19.9, which begins *idam ulungulukābhyo*, has to be maintained in all four of the following stanzas.

The second case occurs at 15.22.3; all the manuscripts contain the  $prat\bar{\imath}ka$  of a mantra  $(agn\bar{a}v \ agnir)$  followed by the indication  $ity \ ek\bar{a}$ , which refers to PS 12.18.1.

2) The abbreviation of repeated openings and refrains remains unmarked in the manuscripts. Some of the Orissa manuscripts occasionally show a type of abbreviation consisting of a superscribed akṣara  $k\bar{a}$  added to the double danda ( $\parallel^{k\bar{a}}$ ) after a stanza that is not written in full because it repeats parts of the preceding one.<sup>12</sup>

In PS 15, there are 4 cases of abbreviated refrains.

The refrain of PS 4.6–10 is treated differently in the manuscripts. In **K** it is written in full at the end of each stanza, without any sign of abbreviation, while in the Orissa manuscripts it is written in full only in the first and last stanzas (4.6 and 4.10) and omitted in 4.7–9. Only the manuscript **Ku** marks the omission of the repeated refrain with the marker  $\parallel^{k\bar{a}}$ .

An interesting situation is found in hymns 7, 8 and 9. The same refrain links together several stanzas, from 7.1 up to 9.4. In every stanza a god/goddess or a deified entity is invoked as  $\acute{a}dhyak \bar{s}a$ - of a particular sphere of influence, and in the refrain he/she is requested to favour the person speaking while performing the sacrifice ( $sa/s\bar{a}$   $m\bar{a}vantu$ ). The refrain is written in full only at 7.1 and 9.4 (in 9.4 with minor modifications, due to the change of subject from singular to plural, since all the gods are at last invoked). The omission of the identical refrain in stanzas 7.2–9.3 remains unmarked in all manuscripts, but both **K** and **Or** write the very beginning of the refrain when a change in the gender of the subject is involved: thus at 8.7b, in which a god is invoked, the manuscripts write sa  $m\bar{a}$  after the invocation because in the next stanza 8.8b a goddess is invoked, and the change is indicated by adding  $s\bar{a}$   $m\bar{a}$ ; again at 8.9b, the manuscripts write sa  $m\bar{a}$  (as a goddess is invoked) and at 8.10b  $s\bar{a}$   $m\bar{a}$  (as a goddess is invoked).

The set of invocations that constitutes hymns 13-14 contains a refrain in the last pāda. The refrain is abbreviated by the repetition of its first word (te), followed by single or double  $d\bar{a}nda$  in  $\mathbf{Or}$ , by  $\mathbf{Z}\,\mathbf{n}^{\circ}\,\mathbf{Z}$  in  $\mathbf{K}$ . Although some manuscripts are not consistent in abbreviating the refrain of hymn 14, all of them write it in full at 13.6 and 13.8, as well as at 14.9 and 14.11, because both the intervening stanzas 13.7 and 14.10 contain a different final pāda.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> On this sign and its meaning, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXII.

Stanzas 16.4 to 17.6 contain the same refrain, written in full only in the first and last stanzas. The manuscripts are not consistent in abbreviating the refrain of 16.5–10 and 17.1–6 in that they repeat different portions of the openings. Only the manuscript **JM** marks the omission of the refrain with the marker  $\|^{k\bar{a}}$ .

#### Arrangement of the hymns within the kānda. Content of PS 15

The arrangement of hymns within the kāṇḍa is not at all arbitrary, and several tendencies may be noticed. In the introduction to each hymn I have tried to list the lexical correspondences between contiguous and more distant hymns (concatenating links), but it is clear that there are more elaborate links that go beyond the repetition of words and expressions. For instance, as regards the opening of a kāṇḍa, BLOOMFIELD 1899: 38 points out, "Just as the introductory hymn 1.1. and the closing hymn of 19 hold their places because of their subject-manner, so there is a design in the opening-hymns of books 2, 4, 5, and 7, all of which begin with a theosophic or *brahmodya*-hymn in loftier direction." GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXVII adds, "This tendency we see clearly exemplified in PS 6.1 and 2 (~ ŚS 5.2+1), the former being a borrowing from the RV, both in style quite apart from the rest of the *kāṇḍa*."

I would add that both PS 13 and 14 begin with solemn hymns, to be recited during the *abhiṣeka* portion of a coronation ritual, and that a lofty hymn opens PS 15 as well. Hymns 1 and 2, which must be considered a single hymn, conform, in their prominent position at the beginning of the kāṇḍa, to the norm of 18 stanzas implied by the title of the kāṇḍa; they contain a highly structured ritual, mostly consisting of material borrowed from Yajurvedic texts and dealing with a preliminary rite to be performed during the *Aśvamedha*, before the first day of *soma*-pressing.

The tendency to open a kāṇḍa with a lofty hymn and to link the hymns to each other with verbal correspondences is not, at least in the case of PS 15, the only strategy for arranging the poetic material.

My hypothesis is that two main sections can be identified in this book. The first one includes hymns 1–12 (five hymns in total) and may be called the "the collection of royal hymns"; the second one includes hymns 15–23 (four hymns in total) and may be called "the collection of Rudraic hymns". Hymns 13 and 14, which contain a set of generic invocations to the gods against distress, could belong to either section, most probably to the first, or merely mark the transition between the two.

In my opinion, the first section represents a collection of royal mantras that were composed by the Paippalādins to be used during ceremonies or rites involving the figure of the king.

The importance of the PS with regard to the concept of kingship has already been stressed: WITZEL 1997 has reconstructed the earliest phases of the emergence of the Kuru dynasty, and pointed out that book 10 of the PS is a thematically compact collection of "royal hymns", composed to serve as a 'coronation' text of the early Kuru kings. The position of this collection, which is not found in the ŚS, at the center of the PS (which consists of 20 books in total) highlights the Paippalādins' efforts to provide a unique service to the king as domestic priests.<sup>13</sup>

While there is no critical edition of kāṇḍa 10 of the PS, contemporary editors of the other books, in trying to understand the ritual applications of the hymns, have often stressed that some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tsuchiyama (2007) dedicated a paper to the notion of royal power ( $r\bar{a}$ stra-) in the time of the Atharvaveda, in which he discussed several relevant hymns from PS 10.

hymns could have been used in royal ceremonies. A survey of the titles of these "royal hymns" offers an insight into the material we are dealing with:  $^{14}$  PS  $1.11 \approx \text{ŚS} 1.29$  Ein Halsamulett (mani-), um Herrschaft ( $r\bar{a}stra$ -) zu erlangen; PS  $1.19 \approx \text{ŚS} 1.9$  Für Gedeihen und Reichtum; PS 1.53 (PS only) Für Respekt (upa-citi-) und Herrschaft ( $r\bar{a}stra$ -); PS 1.54 (PS only) Für Ansehen (varcas-) und Macht; PS 1.74 (PS only) An einen König; PS 1.75 (PS only) Der König als Beschützer vor Feinden; PS 1.92 (PS only) An die (Gerichts-)Versammlung (samiti-); PS  $2.18 \approx \text{ŚS} 6.38$  Bitte um Prestige ('Funkeln'); PS 2.25 (PS only) Um in der Schlacht den Sieg zu erringen; PS 2.65 (PS only) Zur Sicherung der Herrschaft; PS 2.72-73 (PS only) Zur Erhaltung der Herrschaft; PS 2.86 (PS only) Prosaformel: für Feindlosigkeit in jeder Richtung; PS  $2.88 \approx \text{RV} 10.152$  An Indra (zum Schutz vor Feinden); PS 5.29 (PS only) For splendor (varcas-); PS 6.9 (PS only) For a king, against enemies: with a bull; PS 7.12 (PS only) For a queen, against rival wives: with  $p\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ ; PS 13.1-2 (PS only) Internalization of cosmic elements; PS 13.7-8 (PS only) A riddle hymn (in the style of a brahmodya); PS 14.1-2 (PS only) The king-engendering ( $r\bar{a}jas\bar{u}y\bar{a}$ ) waters; 14.5-6 (PS only) The offering of the Śataudanā-cow.

The fact that almost all the hymns mentioned above are found only in the PS and not in the ŚS means that there must be "a conscious effort of Paippalāda Brahmins to appear as best suited to be the king's *purohita*" (LOPEZ 2010: 51), in competition with other 'orthodox' Brahmins; "although later dharma texts point out that the *purohita* of the king should be an Atharvavedin, the Śaunaka school do not seem to have the same agenda in the redaction of its Saṃhitā" (ID.: 83). <sup>15</sup>

The collection of "royal hymns" in PS 10 represents quite an extraordinary case, but in my opinion is not entirely isolated. My hypothesis is that the first twelve (or better, five) hymns of kāṇḍa 15 were also arranged sequentially in order to build a collection of mantras for use in royal rites. This arrangement is without a doubt late and artificial; the more the Paippalādins were invited to take part in royal rites, the more they needed new material, which they collected from heterogeneous sources (especially the RV and the YV), and which originally could also have been meant for other purposes. In this respect, it is again noteworthy that many of the "royal hymns" of PS 15.1–12 are missing in the ŚS.

In the introductions to the single hymns, I have tried to present detailed evidence supporting the hypothesis that each hymn could belong to such a collection.

Here it may suffice to summarize that hymns 1 and 2 represent a composition made up of mantras borrowed from the Yajurveda's sections dealing with the ritual of the *Aśvamedha*, the most important ritual concerning the king.

Hymns 3 and 4 are typical Atharvanic hymns that are to be recited, together with the application of an ointment  $(\hat{a}\tilde{n}jana-)$ , in a  $mah\bar{a}\dot{s}\bar{a}nti$  ceremony; as I have tried to demonstrate, the use of formulaic expressions normally addressed to the king in the ritual of royal

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 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  The titles are quoted from ZEHNDER 1993 (PS 1) and 1999 (PS 2), LUBOTSKY 2002 (PS 5), GRIFFITHS 2009 (PS 6–7) and LOPEZ 2010 (PS 13–14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. AVPariś 2.4.1–5, where the office of *purohita* is specifically assigned to the Paippaladins: *paippalādam gurum kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam | tathā śaunakinam vāpi vedamantravipaścitam | rāṣṭrasya vṛddhikartāram dhanadhānyādibhiḥ sadā | ātharvaṇād ṛte nānyo niyojyo 'tharvavid guruḥ | nṛpeṇa jayakāmena nirmito 'gnir ivādhvare "He [viz. the king] should appoint a Paippalāda[-Atharvavedin] as his priest, for he will increase his wealth, realm, and health, or a Śaunakin[-Atharvavedin] who is learned in the Mantras of [his] Veda. For he will cause the kingdom always to prosper in wealth, crops and the like. A king who desires to prevail over his enemies should appoint no expert in the Atharvaveda as his priest other than an Atharvavedin. For [the Atharvavedin royal priest] has been created [as an element vital to his rule], just as the fire [is vital] to the Vedic sacrifice [...]".* 

consecration ( $R\bar{a}jas\bar{u}ya$ ), the wish that the quarters will be free from danger and the mention of the tribes bringing the tribute are a clear evidence that the king is involved in the ritual and is being addressed by the priest.

Hymns 5 and 6 deal with the ceremony of the king's investiture; the main theme, the description of a garment carded and spun by the stars and the goddesses, a garment with which the priest should wrap the king to enable him to rule properly, is accompanied by an invocation to several gods, who are asked to bestow precious gifts often associated with the king, and by expressions describing actions that are typical for a king.

The royal character of hymns 7, 8 and 9 is less evident, but the refrain of this long list of invocations contains the important word  $purodh\bar{a}$ - 'office of a purohita', which could refer to the Paippalādins' need to present themselves as the king's purohitas.

Finally, hymns 10, 11 and 12 are centred on the theme of war and warfare; many stanzas are borrowed from the RV and from the YV, and the connection between this hymn and the figure of the king is made clear by ĀśvGS 3.12, in which it is explicitly stated that the Rgvedic stanzas, found also in the PS, should be recited by a king's purohita in a ritual to be performed before and during a battle, while the king, who is the chief of the army, is wearing his armour and weapons, and while he is later standing on his chariot and fighting.

As already said, hymns 13 and 14, which form a single composition, could either belong to the first section, or mark a transition to what I call the "collection of Rudraic hymns" in PS 15. In the second part of this kāṇḍa, the presence of Rudra is evident in every hymn, with the partial exception of PS 18–19, which are dedicated to the Apsarases.

In hymns 15, 16 and 17, which praise the healing virtues of the herb Arundhatī, a close connection is made between the herb, its curative power and the wounds that the arrows of Rudra can inflict. The name of Rudra and of his seven embodiments appear in seven consecutive stanzas.

In the Apsarases' hymns, 18–19, Rudraic elements are absent at first sight but, as I shall demonstrate, there are several references to Rudra himself and to his sphere of influence.

Hymns 20–21 are devoted entirely to Rudra and represent the core of this section; the composition is partly a rearrangement of RV 2.33, which is one of the three Rgvedic hymns dedicated entirely to Rudra; of the stanzas attested only in the PS, the god is invoked especially in the form of Bhava and Śarva, the two 'lords of animals'.

Although Rudra is never mentioned in the final two hymns, 22–23, his presence is nevertheless implied everywhere; the hymn is a prayer for the protection of the crop against hail and other dangerous atmospheric agents, and the Maruts, who are sometimes identified with Rudra or said to be his sons,  $^{16}$  are constantly requested to ward off the lightning and the hail from the crop. The stormy atmosphere that echoes throughout the hymns is full of Rudraic elements such as the thunderbolt ( $a\dot{s}a\dot{n}i$ -), the lightning ( $vidy\dot{u}t$ -), the thunder ( $stanayitn\dot{u}t$ -), the wind ( $v\dot{a}tat$ -), the celestial regions ( $dy\dot{a}v$ -,  $ant\dot{a}rik\dot{s}at$ -), the celestial fire and waters ( $divy\dot{a}agn\dot{u}t$ -, ap-) and the hail (attraction the lightnine than the hail (<math>attraction the lightnine than the lightnine that <math>attraction the lightnine than the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine than the lightnine than the lightnine than the lightnine than the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine than the lightnine than the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine than the lightnine that lightnine the lightnine than the lightnine

It is clear that, unlike the first section, the second section cannot be considered a sylloge of hymns related to the same subject, nor a collection made up by the Paippalādins for any specific ritual purpose. What is important, in my view, is that the presence of Rudra is like a thread that runs through the second part of this  $k\bar{a}nda$ .

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Rudra is often called *marútvān* 'accompanied/attended by the Maruts' (e.g. at RV 1.114.11b, 2.33.6a etc.). On the relationship between Rudra and the Maruts, see MACDONELL 1897: 74 ff. and FALK 1986: 63 ff.

As for the collection of "royal hymns", this is not an isolated case. Although I cannot provide a complete set of data due to the lack of a reliable complete edition of the PS, the evidence for the persistent and increasing presence of Rudra in the PS seems clear enough.<sup>17</sup>

The most obvious case is represented by the group of seventeen connected stanzas in PS 14.3.1–10 and 14.4.1–7, which were culled from the PS and transmitted separately as the first kāṇḍa and the first half of the second kāṇḍa of the Nīlarudropaniṣad (NU). As noted by LUBIN 2007: 81, the NU represents the Atharvan equivalent of the Śatarudriya, a litany to Rudra transmitted in various Yajurvedic texts (MS 2.9.2, KS 17.11, TS 4.5.1, VS 16.1–14) and recited during the Agnicayana ritual. Since it is beyond doubt that the Śatarudriya clearly shows Rudra's rise to a position of greater importance, the same turns to be valid also for the NU and its primary source, the PS.

References to Rudra and his various forms are scattered throughout the other books of the PS, but we also find entire hymns dedicated to him that are not found in the ŚS, such as PS 2.20 and PS 5.22.

As for the reason why Rudra seems to attain such a conspicuous importance in the PS, I would suppose that the Paippalādins may have shared some elements of the Vrātya culture. <sup>19</sup> That is not to say that they were the Vrātyas, especially given that the exact definition of the Vrātyas group is still under dispute. It is striking, however, that in PS 15.21, in the middle of a prayer to Rudra, we find mention of men bound to the same vow, a mention which seems to refer to the Vrātyas themselves. Moreover, both the Paippalādins and the Vrātyas seem to share two important features: first of all, the increasing importance of Rudra in the pantheon of the Paippalādins corresponds to the fact that Rudra was the tutelary deity of the Vrātyas (he is called *Ekavrātya* at ŚS 15.1.6 and *Vrātapathi*- in the *Śatarudriya*). Secondly, neither the Paippalādins nor the Vrātyas were fully recognized as part of Vedic society, both living at its borders; this would explain both the references to specific cults, like the Rudraic one, in the PS, as well as the simultaneous effort to appear as the best candidates to be the king's purohita, namely, as a means to becoming honourably included in the highest ranks of Vedic society.

## 4. Text, Critical Apparatus, Metrical analysis

For presenting the data in the main part of this work, I follow the principles outlined in GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXVIII: "Each hymn receives a caption [...], which intends to bring across my view of the general purport of the hymn. Further elaborations of my interpretation [...] are provided in the introductory comments that precede each hymns.

Text, translation, critical apparatus, parallel passages, and commentary then follow in that order, arranged stanza by stanza. Every stanza is provided with a heading containing its number in bold face, along with a listing of parallel passages. If relevant [...] these parallel passages are then quoted under the critical apparatus. Each pāda is followed by a symbol indicating its metrical structure".

#### Editorial signs in the text

<sup>19</sup> On the Vrātya problem, see PONTILLO — BIGNAMI — DORE — MUCCIARELLI forthc., with exhaustive literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In the ŚS, six hymns are entirely devoted to Rudra (3.16, 4.28, 6.90, 7.42, 7.87, 11.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For a critical edition and translation of the Nīlarudropaniṣad, see LUBIN 2007.

The text of each hymn is presented as being divided in stanzas, pāda by pāda. Sandhi across pāda-boundaries is dissolved and marked by hyphens. In the edited text, I use the following symbols:

- \* The asterisk marks emendations of readings that were already corrupted in the archetype.
- + The raised + sign precedes readings that are not attested as such in any of the collated manuscripts, but are easily attributable to the archetype through the comparision of the readings in **K** and **Or**.
- †...† Obeli enclose a portion of text that must have been corrupted already in the archetype, and for which no good solutions or emendations have been found so far.
- °°° Three *kuṇḍala*s indicate abbreviating omission of repeated stanzas, openings or refrains.

#### Critical apparatus

In the critical apparatus, I recorded all variants readings of the manuscripts without exception. According to the principles outlined in GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXXII ff., "each individual lemma repeats the portion of text on which a variant is to be reported [...] and is followed by a lemma-sign (]), the ms. or mss. attested the adopted reading, and the variant or variants, separated by commas [...]. In those cases where I have adopted a reading not actually found in any of the mss., this reading has been marked in the lemma, as in the edited text, with either the \* or the \* sign", as described above. I list below all special symbols and brackets used to represent the manuscript readings (I follow GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXXIIIL—XXXIV).

I	8 (							
CAPITALS	Capitals are used to represent readings that are uncertain (due, e.g., to							
	bad legibility of photographs).							
Z	This symbol renders the sign that is used singly and doubly as							
	punctuation marker in <b>K</b> (see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIV).							
	A single raised dot represents an illegible akṣara.							
[siglum]	A siglum between brackets refers to manuscripts whose readings are to							
	be inferred from Bhattacharya's negative apparatus; in the case of kā 15, the only ms. coming into question is <b>Ma</b> .							
om.	This abbreviation means that the akṣara(s) or punctuation sign(s) is/are							
	omitted in the respective ms(s).							
{}	Curly brackets enclose aksaras or vowel elements thereof deleted by the							
	scribe.							
<>	Angle brackets enclose akṣaras wholly or partially lost due to damage							
	suffered by the palm-leaves. The number of intervening dots reflects the							
	number of lost akṣaras.							
()	Parentheses enclose material appearing interlinearly or in margine. The							
	following specification can be made:							
	→ Corrections: the marginal or interlinear material replace the preceding							
	material that appears in the actual line of writing.							
*	This symbol represent (floral) ornaments in the Orissa manuscripts							

around divisions of the text.

#### **Metrical analysis**

Since the end of the nineteenth century, several monographs and important articles have been devoted to the study of the metre of the RV. The pioneering works by OLDENBERG 1888 and ARNOLD 1905 have served as a starting point for further investigation and, since then, the research has been considerably deepened and refined. On the one hand, scholars have studied relevant phenomena concerning the prosody of the text (e.g. laryngeals in Rgvedic metre and the role of accent) and techniques of metrical composition (e.g. the use of poetic formulas); on the other hand, efforts have been made toward outlining the comparative background of the verse types and stanza types of the oldest Vedic poetry. This research has proven the study of metre to be a valuable linguistic tool for better understanding the text and tracing the history of its composition.

In contrast, until now little attention has been paid to the metre of the two Atharvaveda Samhitās, the Śaunakīya Samhitā (ŚS) and the Paippalāda Samhitā (PS), the oldest collections of Vedic hymns after the RV.

The fact that the study of Atharvavedic metre has long remained a *desideratum* is certainly due to multiple reasons, not always adequately explained by the scholars who regretted this lack in the field of Vedic studies.

One of the greatest obstacles to the study of Atharvavedic metre is certainly the textual situation of the Atharvaveda. Unlike the RV, which was transmitted and preserved almost without variants due to the sacredness of the rituals connected with it, the Atharvaveda was long considered to be lacking in authority and was not immediately recognized as part of the Vedic canon. As pointed out by Insler, "since the Atharvan compositions did not originally play but perhaps the most peripheral role in the solemn *śrauta* rituals, there was no need to preserve the hymns in a form that approached the attempt at orthodox transmission seen in the recension of the mantra material centered on the holy rites and their fixed requisite liturgies. Consequently, for the Atharvan hymns a greater laxity prevailed, one which permitted changes, permutations, additions and remakings in the poetry of the original Atharvan corpus". 21 It is evident that studying the metre of such a complicated text, whose readings are often on the border between authentic readings and mistakes that require emendation, is an extremely difficult task. Moreover, we have to take into account that there exist two recensions of the Atharvaveda. This is no doubt a favorable situation for the study of the relations between Vedic schools and for the solution of many textual problems, but the presence of two recensions, while enriching the research, at the same time complicates it. While the appearance of two recensions provided scholars with a "powerful tool for restoring corrupt readings in one or even both versions of the same hymn", <sup>22</sup> it was also often frustrating to compare the two versions and apply textual criticism, not to mention to study the metrical form of the hymns, especially as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> On laryngeal theory as applied to the study of Vedic metre, see KURYŁOWICZ 1927, 1928, POLOMÉ 1972, MAYRHOFER 1981, LINDEMAN 1987, JAMISON 1988, GIPPERT 1997, 1999, LUBOTSKY 1995b, 2000, GUNKEL 2010: 99–133, KÜMMEL 2013. On the role of the accentuation in the technique of Vedic versification, see LUBOTSKY 1995a. On the use and preservation of poetic formulas and their interference with the metrical rhythm of the verse, see KORN 1998, LUBOTSKY 2004b, LINDQVIST 2011. On the comparative evidence, see KORN: 1998: 22–23, 25–29 (with literature). Cf. also WESTPHAL 1860: 449–458, GELDNER 1877: i–xv, BARTHOLOMAE 1886: 1–31, OLDENBERG 1888: 43 ff., KURYŁOWICZ 1952: 438 ff., NAGY 1974, VINE 1977, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> *Ibid*.

long as the Paippalāda version was known only through one single very corrupt birchbark manuscript from Kashmir  $(\mathbf{K})$ .

In two pages dedicated to the metrical form of the hymns of the ŚS, Bloomfield identified another difficulty in the study of Atharvan metre, a difficulty inherent to the metre itself; having noticed that the hymns often show "the greater freedom and irregularity of all types", he stated:

Atharvan metres are so generally capable of improvement that we are in danger of singing our own rather than Atharvan hymns, when we apply ourselves to the task of improving them. An uneasy sense is left that we all know how to make better verse-lines than those that have somehow got to be in vogue among the Atharvan writers; carried out to its full consequences this would eliminate one of the more marked peculiarities that render the Atharvan what it is. Yet it is impossible to abstain entirely: such abstemiousness would suggest the equally mistaken view that all Atharvan stanzas are before us in the form in which they were originally composed.<sup>24</sup>

Although a bit abstract, Bloomfield's words contain a balanced warning that should always be present in the mind of anyone who undertakes the study of Atharvavedic metre.

In the voluminous introduction to his annotated translation of the ŚS, Whitney did not add any new observations, devoting but one page to this subject. Besides repeating Bloomfield's warning concerning the illegitimacy of overly heavy emendations, he pointed to the "extreme irregularity and the predominance of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas" as two striking features of the metrical form of the Atharvaveda, concluding that "it is probable that in the Atharvan samhitā the irregular verses outnumber the regular".<sup>25</sup> In the notes to the hymns, Whitney comments repeatedly on the metre and compares the parallel passages of the PS, but his remarks are always occasional and not based on exhaustive statistics nor computations of all the available data.

The striking irregularity of the metre and the uncertainty of how to deal with it were certainly a powerful barrier to the progress of the research.

Only recently has a publication on the metrical and prosodic structures of kāṇḍas 1–7 of the Śaunakīya Saṁhitā (KUBISCH 2007) provided an analytic study founded on precise statistics of stanzas and verses types. Using the edition of Roth-Whitney (1924) as his primary source, Kubisch prepared a database of the complete text of the first seven kāṇḍas of the ŚS. He analyzed the prosodic structure of every verse in the form of a scheme of symbols for each syllable, assigned pāda designations to all pādas, and categorized each stanza. Based on these pāda designations and stanza categorizations, he prepared detailed pāda and stanza statistics.

One of the most valuable qualities of Kubisch's pioneering work is the development of a complex terminological apparatus that has met the need to describe all the peculiarities of Atharvavedic metre. The assumption that "the numerous deviations from Rgvedic meters, typically qualified as mere irregularities, may […] represent peculiar metrical schemes" has the undoubted merit of cutting through the fog surrounding the metrical structure of the text

37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See BARRET 1905–1940, whose attempt to edit the PS from the Kashmirian manuscript and by comparison with the ŚS was doomed to failure. It is also worth mentioning Whitney's notes to his translation of the ŚS, as he quoted the PS version of several mantras and pādas, also commenting on the metre, but the comparison was almost always fruitless.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bloomfield 1899: 41–42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> WHITNEY 1905: CXXVI–CXXVII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Kulikov 2008: 137.

and permitting a thorough study of this subject. The sophisticated discussion of the difficulties one has to face when studying this material, as well as identifying the limits beyond which it is dangerous to venture, are another remarkable feature of this work.

Although confined to a limited corpus, Kubisch's study also aims to cast some light on the metre of the PS and on Atharvan metre in general, considering that "regarding Atharvan stanzas a shift of relative frequencies in comparison to the RV is certainly a common feature of both recensions".<sup>27</sup>

One of the most glaring deficiencies of Bhattacharya's editions is indeed the complete absence of any information on the metre, except for the division of the hymns into stanzas and pādas.<sup>28</sup> The first edition to provide a metrical analysis of the text is ZEHNDER 1999 (PS 2), whose system has basically been followed by LUBOTSKY 2002 (PS 5), GRIFFITHS 2009 (PS 6–7) and LOPEZ 2010 (PS 13–14), although each edition has its idiosyncrasies due to the lack of a unified direction in the work.

In Zehnder's descriptive system, every pāda is described by a number, which represents the number of syllables it contains. Occasionally combined with these numbers are other signs that add information to the prosodic structure of the pāda. I reproduce the list of symbols used, along with their explanation (ZEHNDER 1999: 14), below:

5	pentasyllabischer Pāda
8	Anuştubh-Pāda
8^	katalektischer Anuştubh-Pāda
^8	akephaler Anuştubh-Pāda
	(in vielen der siebensilbigen Pādas (8^, ^8) dürfte eine Textstörung vorliegen)
10	unterzähliger Tristubh-Pāda
11	Tristubh-Pāda
11 <sup>j</sup>	unterzähliger Jagatī-Pāda
[11]	elfsilbiger Pāda unklaren Charakters oder ohne metrische Struktur
12	Jagatī-Pāda
12 <sup>t</sup>	überzähliger Tristubh-Pāda
[12]	zwölfsilbiger Pāda unklaren Charakters oder ohne metrische Struktur
13	überzähliger Jagatī-Pāda
P	Prosa
()	Metrum nich restituierbar
(Zahl)	Metrum im AVP-Archetyp schon defeckt; durch einen in der Anmerkung
	erwähnten Vorschlag zum betreffenden Metrum zu restaurieren
${Zahl}$	Metrum durch Flektierung oder Namen- Synonymensubstitution gestört

For his edition of PS 20.1–30, Kubisch 2010 used the system developed for the metrical analysis of ŚS 1–7 (Kubisch 2007). For its accuracy and thoroughness, and for the sophisticated treatment of the various metrical patterns, Kubisch's system proved so helpful that I have decided to take it as a model for my edition of PS 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> KUBISCH 2007: 1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> GRIFFITHS — SCHMIEDCHEN 2007: III report the criticism of J. C. Wright, a reviewer of the *editio princeps* of PS 1–15 (Bhattacharya 1997), who noted, "no attention seems to have been paid to prosody" (in BSOAS 2002, p. 194).

For the sake of clarity, I list below the symbols used for describing the verse types, as well as the symbols that are often combined with them in order to specify the prosodical structure of a pāda.

# Symbols for verse types

A	Anuṣṭubh pāda / Octosyllabic dimeter verse
A7	Heptasyllabic Anuştubh pāda / Dimeter verse
J	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse
Ja	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura
Jb	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura
Jc	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura
Jca	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with "weak" caesura after the fourth syllable
Jcb	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with "weak" caesura after the fifth syllable
J1	Hendecasyllabic Jagatī pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable
J1c	Hendecasyllabic Jagatī pāda without / with "weak" caesura
J2	Tridecasyllabic Jagatī pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Jagatī cadence
J2c	Tridecasyllabic Jagatī pāda without / with "weak" caesura
J3	Jagatī pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Jagatī cadence
T	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse
Ta	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura
Tb	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura
Tc	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura
Tca	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with "weak" caesura after the fourth syllable
Tcb	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with "weak" caesura after the fifth syllable
T1	Virāṭsthānā verse, decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable
T1c	Decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with "weak" caesura
T2	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence
T2c	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with "weak" caesura
Т3	Triṣṭubh pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence
T/J	Triṣṭubh pāda, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Ja	Triṣṭubh pāda with early caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jb	Tristubh pāda with late caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jc	Triṣṭubh pāda without caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)

T/Jca	Triṣṭubh pāda with "weak" caesura after the fourth syllable, which can be
	scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jcb	Triṣṭubh pāda with "weak" caesura after the fifth syllable, which can be scanned
	as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J1	decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable, which can be
	scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J1c	Decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with "weak" caesura, which can be scanned
	as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J2	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and
	Triṣṭubh cadence, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a
	syllable in the last place but one)
T/J2c	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with "weak" caesura, which can be
	scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J3	Triştubh pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triştubh
	cadence, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the
	last place but one)
V	Virāj pāda / Pentad
•	. mg Pana, 2 chan

# Other symbols

Other symbo	UIS .
_	Secondary sandhi <sup>29</sup>
~	Syllable whose prosodic value has been corrected
*	Pāda, in which at least one syllable has been restored (in subscript)
/	Pāda, in which at least one syllable has been omitted (in superscript)
!	Pāda, in which the prosody of at least one syllable has been corrected
o	Extended pāda (gloss, interpolation)
+	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends in trochaic rhythm
	2) [in front of T, J, or T/J:] Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening
#	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends neither in a iamb nor in a trochee or antispast
	2) [in front of T, J, or T/J:] Trimeter verse with irregular cadence
	3) [in front of V:] Pentad verse with three short or long syllables in the middle
+#	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends in an antispast
	2) [in front of T, J or T/J:] Trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus
(+)#	Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and contains an irregular cadence
+(#)	Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and whose caesura is
	followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus
(+#)	Trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus and that contains an irregular cadence

<sup>29</sup> This symbol was not used by KUBISCH 2007 and 2012. ZEHNDER 1999 introduced the notation  $x_y$ , without using it in the text (cf. pp. 141, 146, 172), while GRIFFITHS 2009 made use of it also in the edited text itself (p. 319, 359). I have followed Griffiths's example and extended this notation everywhere.

#### **Mantra statistics**

PS 15 contains 227 stanzas:

**Anuşṭubh**: 15.3.1, 15.3.2, 15.3.3, 15.3.6, 15.3.7, 15.3.8, 15.3.9, 15.3.10, 15.4.1, 15.4.2, 15.5.7, 15.5.8, 15.5.9, 15.5.10, 15.6.10, 15.11.5, 15.13.1, 15.13.2, 15.13.3, 15.13.4, 15.13.5, 15.13.6, 15.13.7, 15.13.8, 15.13.9, 15.13.10, 15.14.1, 15.14.2, 15.14.3, 15.14.4, 15.14.5, 15.14.6, 15.14.7, 15.14.9, 15.14.10, 15.14.11, 15.15.1, 15.15.2, 15.15.3, 15.15.4, 15.15.5, 15.15.6, 15.15.7, 15.15.8, 15.15.9, 15.15.10, 15.16.1, 15.16.2, 15.16.3, 15.16.4, 15.16.5, 15.16.6, 15.16.7, 15.16.8, 15.16.9, 15.16.10, 15.17.1, 15.17.2, 15.17.3, 15.17.4, 15.17.5, 15.17.6, 15.17.7, 15.17.8, 15.18.1, 15.18.2, 15.18.4, 15.18.5, 15.18.6, 15.18.8, 15.18.9, 15.19.1, 15.19.2, 15.19.3, 15.19.4, 15.19.5, 15.19.6, 15.19.7, 15.19.8, 15.19.9, 15.19.10, 15.19.11, 15.19.12, 15.20.8, 15.20.9, 15.20.10, 15.21.1, 15.21.2, 15.21.3, 15.21.6, 15.21.7, 15.21.8, 15.22.1, 15.22.6, 15.22.9, 15.23.5, 15.23.6, 15.23.9, 15.23.10, 15.23.13 = **100** (**44.05%**)

**Triṣṭubh**: 15.1.1, 15.1.2, 15.1.3, 15.1.6, 15.2.1, 15.2.2, 15.2.3, 15.2.4, 15.2.5, 15.2.8, 15.4.5, 15.5.1, 15.5.2, 15.5.3, 15.5.6, 15.6.1, 15.6.2, 15.6.5, 15.6.6, 15.6.7, 15.6.8, 15.6.9, 15.10.1, 15.10.2, 15.10.3, 15.10.4, 15.10.5, 15.10.8, 15.10.9, 15.11.1, 15.11.2, 15.11.3, 15.11.4, 15.11.7, 15.11.8, 15.12.2, 15.12.3, 15.12.5, 15.12.7, 15.12.8, 15.12.9, 15.12.10, 15.20.2, 15.20.3, 15.22.2, 15.22.3, 15.22.4, 15.22.5 = **48** (**21.14%**)

**Formula**: 15.4.6, 15.4.7, 15.4.8, 15.4.9, 15.4.10, 15.7.1, 15.7.2, 15.7.3, 15.7.4, 15.7.5, 15.7.6, 15.7.7, 15.7.8, 15.7.9, 15.7.10, 15.8.1. 15.8.2, 15.8.3, 15.8.4, 14.8.5, 15.8.6, 15.8.7, 15.8.8, 15.8.9, 15.8.10, 15.9.1, 15.9.2, 15.9.3 = **28** (**12.33%**)

**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**: 15.1.4, 15.1.5, 15.1.7, 15.1.8, 15.1.9, 15.1.10, 15.4.3, 15.4.4, 15.5.4, 15.6.3, 15.10.7, 15.10.10, 15.11.9, 15.11.10, 15.12.1, 15.20.4 = **16** (**7.04%**)

**N.N.**: 15.5.5, 15.20.1, 15.20.5, 15.20.7, 15.21.5, 15.22.8, 15.22.10, 15.23.1, 15.23.3, 15.23.11 = **10** (**4.40%**)

**Not metrical**: 15.3.4, 15.3.5, 15.9.4, 15.9.5, 15.9.6, 15.23.7 = **6** (2.64%)

**Gāyatrī**: 15.2.7, 15.6.4, 15.18.3, 15.18.7 = **4** (**1.76%**)

**Pańkti**: 15.14.8, 15.23.2, 15.23.8 = **3 (1.32%)** 

**Jagatī**: 15.10.6, 15.11.6 = **2** (**0.88%**)

**Mahāpankti**: 15.18.10, 15.23.12 = 2 (0.88%)

**Virāj**: 15.12.4, 15.20.6 = **2** (**0.88%**)

**Śakvarī**: 15.12.6, 15.12.11 = 2 (0.88%)

**Bṛhatī**: 15.23.4 = 1 (0.44%)

Purastādbrhatī: 15.22.7 = 1 (0.44%) Prastārapadā: 15.21.4 = 1 (0.44%)

**Uşņih**: 15.2.6 = 1 (0.44%)

The distribution of the various stanza types in PS 15 follows the same tendencies that I have outlined in Lelli 2014: 343 ff., where I have analyzed the metrical structure of eight kāṇḍas of the PS.

As would be expected, the Anustubh with its 100 occurrences is the predominant metre (44.05%), as it was in the portions of the PS treated in my PhD dissertation (42.62%).

The tables below show the structures of the Anuṣṭubh stanzas found in PS 15.

Anuştubh stanzas:

	STRUC	ATTESTATIONS		
First pāda	Second pāda	Third pāda	Fourth pāda	ATTESTATIONS
				15.3.9, 15.5.9, 15.5.10, 15.6.10,
A	A	A	A	15.13.8, 15.15.3, 15.15.10. 15.18.1,
A	A	A	A	15.18.5, 15.18.8, 15.20.8, 15.21.3,
				15.22.9 = <b>13</b>
				15.3.3, 15.3.8 15.5.8, 15.15.1,
#A	A	A	A	15.15.4, 15.15.9, 15.18.6, 15.21.2,
				15.21.7, 15.22.6 = <b>10</b>
+A	A	A	A	15.11.5, 15.18.4 = <b>2</b>
+#A	A	A	A	15.5.7, 15.15.8, 15.21.8 = <b>3</b>
A	A	#A	A	15.3.7, 15.19.12 = <b>2</b>
A	A	+#A	A	15.4.1, 15.13.1, 15.23.9, 15.23.10 = <b>4</b>
				15.13.6, 15.14.4, 15.14.5, 15.16.2,
+#A	A	#A	A	15.16.5, 15.17.7, 15.19.9, 15.19.10 =
				8
				15.3.2, 15.13.2, 15.13.9, 15.14.2,
#A	A	+#A	A	15.14.9, 15.14.10, 15.17.8, 15.21.1 =
				8
#A	A	#A	A	15.3.1, 15.13.3, 15.13.7, 15.14.3,
III X	71	1171	A	15.15.6, 15.15.7, 15.17.3, 15.19.6 = <b>8</b>
+A	A	#A	A	15.17.6, 15.19.2, 15.19.3, 15.19.5,
171		111		15.19.11, 15.20.10, 15.23.13 = <b>7</b>
+A	A	+#A	A	15.18.2 = 1
+#A	A	+#A	A	15.13.4, 15.13.10 = <b>2</b>
#A	A	+A	A	15.3.10, 15.4.2 = <b>2</b>
#A	+#A	A	A	15.4.6 = <b>1</b>
#A	+#A	#A	A	15.15.2 = <b>1</b>
#A	A	#A	#A	15.3.6 = <b>1</b>
+A	A	#A	#A	15.20.9 = <b>1</b>

# Anuṣṭubh stanzas with one (or more) heptasyllabic pāda(s):

#A	A	A7	A	15.13.5, 15.14.1, 15.14.11, 15.22.1 = <b>4</b>
A7	A	#A	A	15.14.7, 15.16.3, 15.16.4, 15.16.7, 15.16.8, 15.16.9, 15.18.9, 15.19.1, 15.19.4 = <b>9</b>

#A	A	A	A7	15.23.6 = <b>1</b>
A7	A	A	A	15.15.5, 15.21.6 = <b>2</b>
A7	A	A	A7	15.23.5 = <b>1</b>
A7	°A	#A	A	15.17.4 = <b>1</b>

Anuştubh stanzas with one extended pāda:

+A	A	°A	A	15.16.1 = <b>1</b>
+A	A	#A	°A	15.19.8 = <b>1</b>
°A	A	#A	A	15.16.6, 15.16.10, 15.17.1, 15.17.2, 15.17.5, 15.19.7 = <b>6</b>

Besides noticing the great variety in the rhythm of these stanzas, these statistics may be useful in verifying Oldenberg's statement that in later Rgvedic Anuṣṭubh, the first and the third pādas began to move away from strict observance of the iambic cadence, giving rise to a greater variety of prosodic modulations. This variation of the Anuṣṭubh, which is to be found in those hymns of the RV that are similar to the Atharvaveda in various respects, is regular in the Atharvaveda itself.

The percentage of Anuṣṭubh stanzas with non-iambic rhythm in the first and third pādas amounts to 36%, a value which increases to 58% if we also count stanzas with heptasyllabic and extended verses. If we also add the stanzas that contain a not-purely-iambic rhythm in the first or in the third pāda only, the percentage is 81%.<sup>31</sup> The tendency is thus confirmed.

The Gāyatrī, which in the RV is the second most frequent meter after the Triṣṭubh, is highly recessive in the Atharvaveda, and represents only the 1.76% of the total.

Sequences of dimeter verses occur further in Pańkti stanzas (3 = 1.32%) and Mahāpańkti stanzas (2 = 0.88%), which nevertheless appear to be an extension of Anuṣṭubh stanzas in some cases (e.g., the stanza 15.18.10 is an Anuṣṭubh with the addition of two pādas that occur as a refrain in the following twelve stanzas).

As in ŚS 1–7 and the portions of the PS treated in my dissertation, the Triṣṭubh stanzas of PS 15 represent the second group in order of importance (21.14%). Their percentage increases to 29.06% if we add the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī stanzas (7.04%) and the Jagatī ones (0.88%). It is noteworthy that, as regards Trimeter stanzas, we can literally repeat Kubisch's statement about ŚS 1–7: "The share of pure Trimeter-stanzas consisting of four pādas in the whole thus being increased to almost 30% (21% Triṣṭubh + 1% Jagatī + 7% Triṣṭubh-Jagatī), these stanzas nevertheless next to the Gāyatrī show the heaviest losses in comparison to the  $\mathbb{R}$ V" (Kubisch 2007: 15).

Stanzas described with the symbol "N.N." (4.40%) include two categories: stanzas whose metre is difficult to define, because according to my system they contain pādas with an irregular rhythm, and stanza types that consist mostly of various combinations of octo- and hendecasyllabic verses. As noted by Kubisch 2007: 15, many of these new stanza types "are

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> OLDENBERG 1888: 27–28. Cf. also ARNOLD 1905: 10–11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> In the portion of the PS treated in LELLI 2014, the corresponding percentages were 31.9%, 32.62% and 73.42%.

found also in the RV, but are rather rare or 'somehow irregular' — like Dvipadā-Triṣṭubh-stanzas or Trimeter-stanzas with one pāda being replaced by two Pentads''. I list below the new stanza types I was able to identify, together with their attestations:

$A+A+T^{32}$	15.20.7
T+T+J	15.22.8
A+A+A+T	15.5.5
A+A+T+A	15.23.3
A+A+T+J	15.23.11
A+A+T+T	15.22.10
$A+T+T+T^{33}$	15.20.1
A+T+T+J+T	15.20.7
$A + A + A + A + A + A + A^{34}$	15.21.5

Besides these new stanza types, both recensions of the Atharvaveda-Samhitā include material that is not metrical, or only partly metrical. In PS 15, there are 6 stanzas that are not metrical (= 2.64%). Whereas this category represents little more than 2% of the total, the group "Formula" is the third in order of extent (= 12.33%). This stanza type is a peculiar feature of Atharvan prose, which was already identified by Oldenberg:

Unter den prosaischen Zaubertexten herrschen sehr entschieden die vor, die in kürzerer oder längerer Reihe von Sätzen dasselbe Schema wiederholen, variiert nur nach der Abfolge irgend eines Systems, etwa der Zahlenreihe, der Welgegenden oder Aehnlichem (...). Der Typus der Zaubertexts mit Durchführung eines bestimmten Schemas, oft geradezu in tabellarischer Weise, ist offenbar uralt; daß der strengen Regelmäßigkeit zuliebe da Prosa bevorzugt wurde, begreift sich leicht.<sup>35</sup>

KUBISCH 2007: 19–20 discussed this topic rather extensively, emphasizing his impression that "such groups of stanzas in which a schema is realized ('formulaic hymns') are in most cases — not always — based upon a metrical structure which only in some stanzas is disturbed".

In the PS, there are certainly many formulaic mantras that are purely prosaic (e.g. 2.43.1–5, 2.44.1–5, 5.5.1–8), but the occurrence of a formulaic scheme is not necessarily connected with a prosaic form. We thus find formulaic stanzas that are partly metrical, partly prosaic (e.g. 2.42.1–5, 2.91.1–5, 5.35.1–11 etc.), and stanzas in which the formulaic scheme rests on a metrical structure: e.g., in PS 16.4–17.3 we find a series of Anuṣṭubh stanzas in which the following scheme is repeated: "And of one pierced by X and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison".

Out of 10 stanzas, 2 exhibit a regular metre, 4 have a heptasyllabic first pāda and 4 have an extended first pāda of nine (or more) syllables due to the names applied for X, which render the metre irregular. In my analysis, I have marked with the label "Formula" only the purely prosaic mantras, which have been included as such in the statistics. I have marked with labels such as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> As noted by ARNOLD 1905: 245, this is the stanza type that was probably aimed at in RV 1.150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This type occurs in RV 5.19.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> This stanza is clearly an extension of a Mahāpankti stanza. It is found in RV 8.40.2 and 10.133.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> OLDENBERG 1917: 10–11 (= III/1758–1759).

"Anuṣṭubh Formula" the other categories of formulaic stanzas, which have been included in the statistics considering their underlying metrical structure.

#### Pāda statistics

In PS 15 there are 876 pādas and prose lines. Verses that occur identically two or more times have been counted only once in the statistics; pādas that occur in only one stanza mixed with prose, pādas from "formulaic hymns", trimeter verses with irregular structures in all three members (opening, break, cadence) and prose lines have been excluded as well. The total number of verses analyzed for the pāda statistics is thus 689. Among these, we find:

# **381 Dimeter verses** (= 55.29%). Of these:

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237 are "A" (= 34.39%)
66 are "#A" (= 9.57%)
34 are "+#A" (= 4.93%)
15 are "+A" (= 2.17%)
21 are "A7" (= 3.04 %)
8 are "°A" (= 1.16%)
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#### **260 Trimeter with Tristubh cadence** (= 37.88%). Of these:

1) 223 are T (= 32.36%). As regards the position of the caesura,

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1a) 104 verses have early caesura (= 15.09%): 48 are "Ta" (= 6.96%), 17 are "+Ta" (= 2.46%), 25 are "+#Ta" (= 3.62%), 4 are "+(#)Ta" (= 0.58%), 3 are "#Ta" (= 0.43%) and 4 are "(+#)Ta" (= 0.58%);
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1b) 123 have late caesura (= 17.85%): 91 are "Tb" (= 13.20%), 25 are "+Tb" (= 3.62%), 2 are "+#Tb" (= 0.29%), 1 is "#Tb" (= 0.14%), 1 is "(+)#Tb" (= 0.14%) and 1 is "(+#)Tb" (= 0.14%);
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- **1c)** 1 is without or with "weak" caesura (= 0.14%): 1 is "+#Tca" (0.14%)
- 2) 11 are T1 (= 1.59%): 7 are "T1" (= 1.01%), 2 are "T1c" (= 0.29%), 1 is +T1 (= 0.14%) and 1 is (+)#T1 (= 0.14%)
- **3**) 16 are T2 (= 2.32%): 9 are "T2" (= 1.30%), 4 are "T2c" (= 0.58%), 1 is "+T2" (= 0.14), 1 is "+#T2" (= 0.14%) and 1 is "+(#)T2 (= 0.14%)
- **4)** 6 are T3 (= 0.87%): 4 are "T3" (= 0.58%) and 2 are "+#T3" (= 0.29%)
- **5)** 4 are extended (= 0.58%): 3 are "+#" Ta" (= 0.43%) and 1 is "+#" Tb" (= 0.14%)

# **37 Trimeter with Jagatī cadence** (= 5.37%). Of these:

1) 32 are J (= 4.64%). As regards the position of the caesura,

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1a) 17 have early caesura (= 2.48\%): 11 are "Ja" (= 1.60), 4 are +#Ja (= 0.58\%), 1 is +Ja (= 0.14) and 1 is #Ja (= 0.14\%)
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- **1b**) 14 have late caesura (= 2.04%): 14 are "Jb" (= 2.04)
- **1c)** 1 is without or with "weak" caesura (= 0.14%): 1 is "Jcb" (= 0.14%)
- 2) 3 are J1 (= 0.43%): 1 is "J1" (= 0.14%), 1 is "+J1" (= 0.14%) and 1 is "J1c" (= 0.14%)
- **3**) 1 is J3 (= 0.14%): 1 is "!#J3" (= 0.14%)
- **4)** 1 is extended (= 0.14%): 1 is "Ja" (= 0.14%)

**2 Triṣṭubh pādas which can be scanned as Jagatī pādas** (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one) (= 0.29%). Of these:

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1 is "+T/Ja" (= 0.14%)
1 is "T/Jb" (= 0.14%)
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Dimeter verses are the most attested verse type in PS 15. Their percentage is very similar to that of  $\pm S$  1–7 (58.59%) and of the portions of the PS treated in Lelli 2014 (60.02%).

It is noteworthy that the attestations of the various kinds of dimeter verses correspond very closely in the three *corpora*; dimeter verses with pure iambic rhythm in the second half, described with the symbol "A", consistently represent the majority (34.39%; 64.07%; 64.75%).

Among the dimeter verses that show a specific rhythmic combination in the second half, the most frequent are those that have an antispast (4.93%; 8.55%; 8.24%), while those that have a final trochaic rhythm are sparsely attested (2.17%; 3.06%; 2.74%).

Moreover, there are many dimeter verses that have various prosodic structure in the second half (9.57%; 19.44%; 19.02%).

As regards heptasyllabic dimeter verses (3.04%; 3.09%; 3.12%), both types — catalectic and acephalic — are attested in PS 15. They occur with the following distribution: 19 in Anuṣṭubh stanzas, one in Gāyatrī stanzas and one in an "N.N." stanza. That is to say, heptasyllabic verses occur in the metrical contexts identified by VINE 1997: 251; more specifically, in PS 15, they always occur in alternation with other dimeter verses.

In comparison to the RV, in which hypersyllabic dimeter verses are very rare and hardly seem to be intentional,<sup>36</sup> in the AV they are more frequent, although the percentage of extended dimeter verses is fairly low in all cases (1.16%; 1,79%; 2,10%).

The three groups of trimeter verses are again attested with almost the same percentages (37.88%, 5.37%, 0.29%; 34.19%, 5.73%, 0.31%; 32.86%, 6.29%, 0.35%). Trimeter verses with Triṣṭubh cadence represent the second group in order of importance after dimeter verses, while trimeter verses with Jagatī cadence and Triṣṭubh pādas that can be scanned as Jagatī pādas are less common.

It is worth noting that the most attested subtypes of trimeter verses are hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh pādas (symbol "T2", 2.32%) and catalectic Jagatī pādas (symbol "J1", 0.43%). The relatively high frequency of these verses may confirm Lubotsky's suggestion that they seem to be a peculiar feature of Atharvavedic metre.<sup>37</sup>

46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. ARNOLD 1905: 161. According to Arnold, verses of nine syllables that cannot be restored to regular octosyllabic verses "indicate careless composition".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See LUBOTSKY 2002: 12.

# KĀŅŅA 15

## 15.1. For the protection of the kingdom

PS 15.1 and 2 are a group of eighteen connected stanzas, split over two hymns of ten and eight stanzas, respectively (10 + 8). Thus they indirectly conform, in their preeminent position at the beginning of the kāṇḍa, to the norm of eighteen stanzas per hymn indicated by the title of the kāṇḍa (aṣṭādaśarcakāṇḍa). The total number of stanzas and the way they are arranged within two hymns are the first of much textual and content-based evidence that, in my opinion, proves that this is a recast and a late composition, made up of material borrowed mainly from Yajurvedic texts.

Thematically, PS 15.1–2 can be divided into two parts: 1.1–2.4 and 2.5–2.8 (2.5 marks the break as a stanza of transition, and the following change of metre suggests this division as well, though the whole hymn is quite irregular in this respect).

The source of the first part is a highly-structured ritual that is transmitted in the Samhitās of the Black Yajurveda as a preliminary rite to be performed during the *Aśvamedha*, before the first day of *soma*-pressing. In this ritual, ten venerations (*iṣṭi*-) are dedicated to various deities in association with the quarters, the seasons, the winds, the Pṛṣṭha Sāmans, the metres and the Stomas.<sup>38</sup> The following table gives an account of the associations as they are found in the TS (4.4.12), KS (22.14), MS (3.16.4) and ĀśvŚS (4.12.2).

GOD	QUARTER	SEASON	WIND	SĀMAN (Pṛṣṭha)	METRE	STOMA
Agni	Samidh	Spring	(Samudra) vāta	Rathamtara	Gāyatrī	Trivŗt
Indra	Ugrā	Summer	(Sagara) vāta	Bṛhat	Triṣṭubh	Pañcadaśa
All-Gods	Prācī	Rainy season	Salilavāta	Vairūpa	Jagatī	Saptadaśa
Mitra and Varuṇa	Dhartrī	Autumn		Vairāja	Anuşţubh	Ekaviṁśa
Bṛhaspati	Samrāj	Winter	Avasyuvāta	Śākvara	Pańkti	Triṇava
Savitar	Ūrdhvā	Cool season	Vivasvadvāta	Raivata	Atichandas	Trayastrimśa
Aditi (as Viṣṇu's consort)	Dhruvā		Saṁdhvānā vātās			
Agni Vaiśvānara						
Anumati						

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The corresponding *brāhmaṇa* section of the TS (7.5.15) explains the artificial nature of the mantras in the following way: 'Now for the fire which is produced on the fire-altar and for Soma, the king, the beast for Agni and Soma is the guest-offering. Again the fire which is piled up is cruel, and if one were not to cast upon the fire which has been piled up these oblations, the cruel fire would spring up in wrath, and injure the offspring and cattle of the sacrificer. In that he casts the oblations on the fire which has been piled up, he appeases it with its own portion, and the cruel fire does not spring up in wrath and injure his offspring and cattle. There are ten oblations. Nine are the breaths in man, and the navel is the tenth; verily he places breaths in the sacrificer. Again the Viraj is of ten syllables; the Viraj is food; verily he finds support in the Viraj as food. 'It must be piled with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prsthas', they say. In that he casts these oblations, he piles it with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prsthas. 'The quarters can be won by one who has pressed the Soma' they say. In that he casts these oblations, (it is) for the winning of the quarters. The gods made Indra sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Indra's pressing; men made Manu sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Manu's pressing. As Indra among the gods, as Manu among men, becomes he who knowing thus sacrifices with this sacrifice. The Puronuvakyas contain the word 'quarter', for the conquest of the quarters' (Keith).

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Ka			
11u			

Of the ten venerations prescribed in the Yajurvedic texts, the first seven are found in the PS with some significant differences as shown in the table below:

GOD	QUARTER	SEASON	WIND	SĀMAN (Pṛṣṭha)	METRE	STOMA
Agni		Spring	(Samudra) *vāta?	Rathamtara	Gāyatrī	
Indra	Ugrā	Summer	(Sagara) vāta	Bṛhat	Triṣṭubh	Pañcadaśa
All-Gods	Prācī	Rainy season	*Salilavāta	Vairūpa	Jagatī	Saptadaśa
Mitra and Varuṇa	Dhartrī	Autumn		Vairāja	Anușțubh	Ekaviṁśa
Brhaspati	Samrāj	Winter	?	Śākvara		Triṇava
Savitar [in reverse order]	Ūrdhvā	Cool season	*Vivasvadvāta	Raivata	Pańkti	Ekaviṁśa
Aditi (as Viṣṇu's consort) [in reverse order]	Dhruvā		Saṁdhānā vātās			

As regards the relation between the PS and the Yajurvedic texts, it is very unlikely that the PS had only one Samhitā as its source — at least, no conclusive evidence can be drawn from the comparison of the texts. As I shall discuss in the commentary, for the most part the PS agrees with the TS, but in some cases also with the KS or the MS, so it is conceivable that the mantras were borrowed from the Yajurvedic tradition when it was still a floating mass of ritualistic material. Furthermore it should be noted that at 1.3a and d, 1.4b, 1.5d, 1.6c and 2.8d we come across a clear discrepancy between **K** and **Or**, which seem to have independently introduced alternative readings (at 1.3a, d and 1.6c **K** agrees with the parallel texts against **Or**, and at 1.4b, 1.5d and 2.8d it is the other way around).

In the PS, each veneration/invocation occupies two stanzas: in every odd stanza the quarters, the seasons and the gods are mentioned; in the even ones, the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. PS 15.1.9–10 are the only two stanzas that do not conform to this pattern, but in this case the PS agrees with the Yajurvedic texts; then, while the Yajurvedic texts strictly follow an established pattern, the order of the elements of the invocation is reversed in PS 15.2.1–2 and 15.2.3–4, where the quarters, the seasons and the gods are invoked in the even stanzas after the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. I think that this reverse order, found also in the ĀśvŚS, can be interpreted as a secondary development, probably due to the critical position of the stanzas involved at the beginning of a 'new' hymn. The omission of the samidh- quarter, the Trivrt Stoma and the Atichandas metre, the misplacement of the Pańkti metre and the Ekavimśa Stoma, the misunderstanding of the references to the winds are some other indications of the later origin of these hymns and their dependence on the Yajurveda. Other

clear evidence in favour of the late and composite nature of the hymn will be discussed in the commentary under 1.1a, 1.2c, 1.4ac, 1.6bd, 1.9c, 2.1ab, 2.2c, 2.3c.

PS 2.5–8 appear to be an appendix to the seven invocations: the stanzas are again borrowed from the Yajurveda and the Rgveda, and were probably chosen because of their manifestly ritualistic character, which met the need to set the action on a more concrete level.

All that has been said up to now can be easily explained if we concede that Paippāladin priests, as well as Atharvayedins of the Saunaka school, could be involved in the politics of the kingdom and in royal rites (see GONDA 1966 and, for the PS in particular, TSUCHIYAMA 2007). The more they were invited to take part in royal rites, the more new material they needed to satisfy the requests of the kings. It is not surprising that the much-elaborated ritual of the Aśvamedha — by far the most important ritual concerning the king — served as a source from which the priests could draw new hymns. This section of the ritual must have been particularly attractive to the Paippaladins, for it contains a whole cosmologia-magica: as pointed out by SADOVSKI 2012: 153 and 158, "if priests and poets systematize the universe in the form of extensive lists, they are believed to exercise magical influence on it. By cataloguing the universe, worshippers try to find an underlying matrix system — but also they magically reshape and re-create it over and over again. [...] Mantra and prayers list the Universe in magic catalogues of cosmological concepts — regularly arranged in axiological manner — starting from sacred components of the macro-cosm, going via ritual as intermediary between God and men, to end up focusing on sacred components of the micro-cosm". This complex cosmologiamagica, in which interacting entities are presented in a multidimensional list, was aptly integrated in a prayer to secure the protection of the kingdom (kṣatrá-); thanks to the magical knowledge of the priests, who could control the powers of the whole universe and transfer them to the king, both the kingdom and the king himself were invested with supernatural forces and legitimated in their functions. Trying to understand which royal ceremony is concerned here is something of a guess, for there are no precise references in this respect. What is beyond doubt is that the purpose of this hymn is to secure the protection of the kṣatrá-, a term that in this context has a very concrete meaning and that I translate with 'kingdom' (cf. 1.3d, 1.5c, 1.7d, 1.8c).

# **15.1.1** [**Triṣṭubh**] a: PS only, bcd: TS 4.4.12.1 $\approx$ KS 22.14:69.16–17 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:187.14–15 $\approx \bar{\text{A}} \dot{\text{s}} \dot{\text{v}} \dot{\text{S}} \dot{\text{S}} 4.12.2$

samyan digbhyaḥ pavate sam suvarvin	*Ta
madhor ato mādhavaḥ pātuv asmān	*Ta
agnir devo <sup>+</sup> duṣṭarītur adābhya	#Ta
idam kṣatram rakṣatu pātuv asmān	*+#Ta

Coming together from the quarters, the one who finds the sunlight becomes thoroughly pure. Henceforth from Madhu let Mādhava protect us. Let Agni, the god, unconquerable, uninjurable, defend this kingdom, let him protect us.

samyan digbhyaḥ] **JM Mā** [**Ma**], samya{m}n digbhyaḥ **Pa**, samyam digbhyaḥ **Ku**, samyam digbhyaḥ **RM**, samyar digbhyaḥ **K** svarvin] **Or**, stavyam **K** ato] **Or**, ajo **K** mādhavaḥ] **Ku Pa Mā** [**Ma**], mādhapaḥ **JM**, mādhava **RM**, mādhanaḥ **K** †duṣṭarītur] duṣṭarītur **Ku JM RM Pa**, duṣṭarītu **Mā** [**Ma**], duṣṭarīdur **K** adābhya] **Or**, itābhya **K** kṣatram] **Or**, kṣattram **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, 1 **K** 

#### TS 4.4.12.1

samíd disấm āsáyā naḥ suvarvín mádhor áto mấdhavaḥ pātv asmấn | agnír devó duṣṭárītur ádābhya idám kṣatrám rakṣatu pấtv asmấn ||

#### KS 22.14:69.16-17

samid diśām āśayā nas svarvin madhur ato mādhavaḥ pātv asmān | agnir devo duṣṭarītur adabhda idam brahma jinvatu pātv asmān |

#### MS 3.16.4:187.14-15

samíd diśām āśáyā naḥ svarvín mádhu réto mādhavaḥ pātv asmān | agnír devó duṣṭárītur ádabdha idám kṣatrám rákṣatu pātv asmān ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

samid diśām āśayā naḥ svarvin madhu reto mādhavaḥ pātv asmān | agnir devo duṣṭarītur adābhya idam kṣatram rakṣatu pātv asmān ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *samya<u>n dig</u>bhyaḥ* in **a**.

a. The PS version of this pāda differs considerably from the text of the other versions: samíd diśam aśaya nah svarvín 'The kindling one among the quarters, the one who finds the sunlight, according to our hope'. The text of the Yajurvedic Samhitās is no doubt the original one because it shows the same pattern in the first pada of every odd stanza of this hymn (name of a quarter plus  $diś\bar{a}m$ ), and the association of the quarter samidh- 'the kindling one' with Agni is clear and natural. The PS line indeed seems to make reference to Soma, as is suggested both by the use of the verb *pavate*, which is the usual verb describing the preparation of the Soma drink, and of the epithet svarvid-, which often refers to that god (e.g., at RV 8.48.15b, 9.8.9b, 9.84.5b, 9.109.8b, etc.). It is not easy to understand why the redactor changed the text here, but it was possibly due to the influence of the word *madhu*- in the next pāda, interpreted not as the name of a month (see below), but as an adjective qualifying the 'sweetness' of Soma. Furthermore, the word śuci- in 1.3b was probably interpreted as an adjective meaning 'clear', again suggesting the idea of Soma. It is noteworthy that the words pavate, madhu- and śuci- occur very often together in 'somic' context: cf. RV 6.8.1cd vaiśvānarāya matír návyasī śúciḥ sóma iva pavate cárur agnáye 'For Vaiśvānara the newer thought becomes pure like clear Soma, dear to Agni', 9.67.11ab ayám sómah kapardíne ghrtám ná pavate mádhu 'This Soma becomes pure like sweet ghee for him who wears braided hair', 9.67. 12ab ayám ta āghṛne sutó ghṛtám ná pavate śúci 'This [Soma], pressed for you, O glowing one, becomes pure like clear ghee', 9.72.4d śúcir dhiyā pavate sóma indra te 'The clear Soma becomes pure for you, O Indra, with devotion' etc.

On the meaning of the verb *pavate*, see GOTŌ 1987: 207–208. It is attested with the preverb *sam*- only in a prose section of the TB, so this is the first attestation in a Samhitā.

This stanza is quoted in AthPrāy 6.5: *rāthamtaram cet stūyamānam vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya iti dvābhyām juhuyāt* 'If the Rathamtara [sāman], when being sung, should disintegrated, then he should make oblation with the two [mantras] beginning with *samyag digbhya*'(see VON NEGELEIN 1913–14: 139; *samyag digbhya* must be a conjecture, the manuscripts' readings being *samādigbhya* BC, *samādiśya* AD). The identification of this *pratīka* with PS 15.1, which von Negelein proposes in a note, is obviously correct, because the first two stanzas of this hymn (cf. *iti dvābhyām*) are concerned with the sāman *rathantara*- (see next stanza).

**b.** Madhu and Mādhava are the names of the two spring months; cf. TS 4.4.11.1 = VS 13.25 ≈ MS 2.8.12:116.3 = MS 4.6.7:89.6 = KS 17.10:35.9 *mádhuś ca mádhavaś ca vásantikāv* [MS, KS *vásantikā*] *rtú* '[You are] Madhu and Mādhava, the months of spring'. Here the PS agrees with the TS, but the easier and probably original reading is that of the KS *madhur ato mādhavaḥ* 'Madhu and then Mādhava'. For a discussion of the variants in the parallel texts, see Ved. Var. II, 382, III: 210 and MITTWEDE 1986: 148. KEITH 1914: 351 translates our pāda 'From Madhu may Mādhava protect us', but in a footnote he proposes the alternative 'after Madhu'.

In this hymn, the indication of the seasons either by the names of the months or the name of the season itself is always found in an odd stanza,  $p\bar{a}da\ b$ , after the name of the direction, with the exception of the seventh stanza (where it is found in  $p\bar{a}da\ c$ , also after the name of the direction).

**c**. On *duṣṭarītu*- 'difficult to be crossed or overcome', 'unconquerable', see LUBOTSKY 1997b: 139 note 2. The formation *duṣ-ṭárītu*- is synonymous with and competes with *duṣ-ṭára*-, which also occurs in this hymn, at 5c (see AiGr. II/2, § 483a, pp. 651–652).

On adābhya-, see NARTEN 1988–90: 154–55. She reconstructs for the root dabh- (from which both adābhya- of the PS, TS and ĀśvŚS and adabdha- of the KS and MS are derived) a basic meaning 'to deceive' and a secondary meaning 'to injure', adding that it is not always easy to choose which one better fits the context. From the discussion of a Yajurvedic mantra (TS 1.1.10.2 etc.), however, she concludes that the formations adābhya- and adabhda- were often used with the meaning 'uninjurable' and 'uninjured' rather than 'uncheatable' and 'uncheated'. The Yajurvedic mantra she discusses is about Agni, as in our case, and goes as follows: ágne sapatnadámbhanam ádabdhāso ádābhyam 'We, the uninjured — thee the uninjurable injurer of enemies' (Eggeling).

The cadence is wrong.

# **15.1.2** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.1 $\approx$ KS 22.14:69.18–19 $\approx$ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2, MS 3.16.4:187.16–188.1

rathantaram sāmabhiḥ pātuv asmān	*Ta
gāyatreņa chandasā viśvarūpam	Ta
d <sub>u</sub> vādaśā iṣṭaya stomo ahnā	*Ta
samudro vāca idam ojaḥ pipartu	T2

Let the Rathantara with the Sāmans protect us, the manifold one with the Gāyatrī metre. The twelve-fold venerations, the Stoma with the day; let the ocean, the words preserve this strength.

sāmabhiḥ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, sāmabhi [Mā], sāmabhiḥ K gāyatreṇa] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, gāyateṇa RM, gāyatreṇa K chandasā] Or, śchandasā K viśvarūpam] K, viśvar̄pam Or iṣṭaya] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, ipaṣṭaya Pa stomo] RM Pa Mā [Ma] K, sto{ma}mo JM, stome? Ku ahnā] Or, ahnām K vāca] Or, vācya K idam ojaḥ] idam odaḥ Or, tam ojaḥ K pipartu] piparttu Ku JM RM Pa [Mā?], piparttiu [Ma], pipantu K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, |RM, Z 2 Z K

# TS 4.4.12.1

rathamtarám sámabhih pātv asmán gāyatrí chándasām viśvárūpā l trivín no viṣṭháyā stómo áhnām samudró váta idám ójaḥ pipartu ll

KS 22.14:69.18-19

rathamtaram sāmabhiḥ pātv asmān gāyatrī chandasām viśvarūpā l trivrd viṣṭhayā stomo ahnām samudro vāta idam ojaḥ pipartu ll

MS 3.16.4:187.16-188.1

rathantarám sámabhih pātv asmán gāyatrī chándasām viśvárūpā l trivṛn no viṣṭháyā stómo áhnā samudró váta idám ójaḥ pipartu l

## Bhattacharya edits $v\bar{a}ca\ idamoja\dot{h}^+$ in **d**.

- b. Once again the parallel passages have an easier text: gāyatrī chándasām viśvárūpā 'The Gāyatrī, the glittering one among the metres' (Keith). I connect viśvarūpam with rathantaram and translate gāyatreṇa chandasā 'with the Gāyatrī metre' (cf. TS 7.1.18.1 quoted below). On the connection of Agni with Gāyatrī, see e.g. RV 10.130.4a agnér gāyatry àbhavat sayúgvā 'The Gāyatrī became Agni's yoke-fellow', AB 1.1.7 gāyatram agneś chandas 'The Gāyatrī is the metre of Agni'. On the association of Gāyatrī with the spring season, see TS 7.1.18.1 gāyatréṇa tvā chándasā yunajmi vasanténa tvartúnā havíṣā dīkṣayāmi 'With the Gāyatrī as metre I yoke you, with the spring as season [I yoke you], with an oblation I consecrate you'. More complete associations, involving also the Stoma and the Sāman, are found, e.g., in AB 4.29.1 agnir vai devatā prathamam ahar vahati trivṛt stomo rathamtaram sāma gāyatrī chando 'Agni as deity bears the first day; the Trivṛt as Stoma [bears the first day], the Rathantara as Sāman [bears the first day], the Gāyatrī as metre [bears the first day]'.
- **c**. The interpretation of this pāda is difficult. The parallel texts have the comprehensible *trivṛn no viṣṭháyā stómo áhnām* 'The Trivṛt Stoma with the order of the days', of which the PS seems to be a corruption. The name of the Stoma Trivṛt is wanting in the PS, so that again the Yajurvedic texts have preserved a more original tradition.
- **d**. As regards  $v\bar{a}ca$ , I propose to keep the text as it was transmitted in **Or**, supported by the fact that **K** also points to a word with initial  $v\bar{a}c$ -. Another possibility would be an emendation to  $v\bar{a}ta$ , which is in the parallel text. The same confusion between -ca and -ta is found, e.g., at PS 5.33.6d where, instead of  $anva\bar{n}can$ , two manuscripts read anvantam; an even closer parallel situation is found at PS 5.7.12c, where all ŚS and PS manuscripts uniformly read  $v\bar{a}ta$ , but the emendation to  $v\bar{a}ca$  (which is in the Rgvedic parallel passage) seems unavoidable because of the context (cf. Lubotsky 2002: 7 and 47–48). Although the mention of the wind would fit a coherent series of references to this atmospheric agent, here the context is not a compelling argument, and an emendation seems unnecessary.

Note the metrical form: it is a dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence. This verse-type occurs several times in this hymns (at 15.1.7b, 15.1.7c, 15.1.8d, 15.1 9b)

#### 

Let the mighty one among the quarters, the overpowering giver of strength, let Suci, during Sukra on a day full of power [protet us]. O Indra, as sovereign, protect us henceforth. Hold firm from all sides this great kingdom!

ugrā] K, agrā Or vayodhāḥ] Or, vayodhāś K śuciḥ] Or, śuciś K śukre] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, śukro Ku ahany ojasye] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, ahany oyasye [Mā], ahny ojāse K ato] Or, ute K +mahi] maỳi Or, mahat K kṣatraṁ] Or, kṣattraṁ K dhārayedam] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, dhāỳa(→e)d{e}aṁ Ku ||] Ku JM Mā Ma Pa, | RM, Z 3 Z K

#### TS 4.4.12.1

ugrā disām abhíbhūtir vayodhāḥ súciḥ sukré áhany ojasīnā | índrādhipatiḥ pipṛtād áto no máhi kṣatrám visváto dhāraye 'dám ||

#### KS 22.14:69.20-21

ugrā diśām abhibhūtir vayodhāś śuciś śukro ahany ojasye | indrādhipatyaiḥ pipṛtād ato no mahi kṣatraṁ viśvato dhārayedam ||

#### MS 3.16.4:188.2-3

ugrấ diśấm abhíbhūtír vayodhấḥ śúciḥ śukré áhann ojásī́ne | índrấdhipatyaiḥ pipṛtād áto no máhi kṣatrám viśváto dhārayedám ||

## ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ugrā diśām abhibhūtir vayodhāḥ śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnām lindrādhipatiḥ pipṛtād ato no mahi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam li

# Bhattacharya edits mayi in d.

- **a**. Note the variant of the Orissa manuscripts,  $agr\bar{a}$  'foremost', 'chief' at the beginning of the pāda.
- **b**. KEITH 1914: 351 translates 'pure, on a bright day...'. I think that  $\dot{s}uci$  and  $\dot{s}ukra$  could be interpreted here as the names of months in hot season; if so, this stanza would mention the season in pāda **b** as in 1.1, 1.5, (1.7), 1.9. Cf. TS 4.4.11.1 = VS 14.6  $\approx$  MS 2.8.12:116.8 = KS 17.10:253.6  $\dot{s}ukr\dot{a}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}u\dot{c}\dot{s}\dot{s}\dot{s}$  ca  $\dot{s}$
- c. On the termination of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative in -tāt, see WHITNEY 1889: 213–14: "As regards its meaning, this form appears to have prevailingly in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in -to and -tote) a posterior or future imperative". Cf. also MACDONELL 1910: 318, DELBRÜCK 1888: 363–64, RENOU 1952: 368. As remarked in BAUM 2006: 37, it is not easy to define the 'futurity' of this imperative form if it does not appear in the apodosis of conditional or temporal clauses, but in this passage the future meaning is confirmed by the use of the adverb atas 'henceforth, from this time on', which projects the action onto the future.
- **d**. The readings of **K** (*mahat*) and of the parallel passages suggest changing the text to <sup>+</sup>*mahi*, which is the solution I choose. The expression *mahi kṣatraṁ* is found in the same position, at the beginning of a pāda, also at RV 1.54.8d *máhi kṣatráṁ stháviraṁ vṛṣṇyaṁ ca* 'A great kingdom, firm and mighty', 1.54.11b *máhi kṣatráṁ janāṣá̄l indra távyam* 'O Indra, a great

kingdom, subduing men, strong', 5.68.3c *máhi vām kṣatrám devéṣu* 'Great is your kingdom among the gods', 7.28.3c *mahé kṣatrấya śávase hí jajñé* (in the dative) 'For you are born for great kingdom and power', 7.30.1d *máhi kṣatrấya páuṁsyāya śūra* 'For great kingdom, heroic deed, O strong one, 8.22.7d *mahé kṣatrấya jínvathaḥ* (in the dative) 'You impel for great kingdom'. The reading of **Or** could be secondary and influenced by PS 1.33.4d *mayi kṣatraṁ varca ā dhatta devīḥ* 'O goddesses, bestow on me the kingdom and splendour' or ŚS 3.5.2ab: *máyi kṣatráṁ parṇamaṇe máyi dhārayatād rayím* 'Hold firm in me, O parṇa-amulet, the kingdom, [hold firm] in me wealth'.

# **15.1.4** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.2 = ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 $\approx$ KS 22.14:70.1–2 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:188.4–5

brhad rāṣṭraṁ kṣatrabhrd vrddhavrṣṇ¡yaṁ	*+T/Ja
triṣṭubhaujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram	+(#)Ta
indra stomaih pañcadaśena varca	+#Ta
idam vātena sagareņa rakṣatu	Jb

The Brhat [is] the dominion, supporting the kingdom, of great strength, [it is] power adorned with the Triṣṭubh, endowed with powerful men. Let Indra, with the Stomas, with the fifteenfold [Stoma], defend this splendour with the wind, with the sea.

bṛhad rāṣṭrami] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, bṛhadāṣṭrami [Mā] kṣatrabhṛd] Or, kṣattrabhṛd K vṛddhavṛṣṇyami] Ku Pa Mā [Ma], vṛddhavṛṣṇimyam (?) JM, vṛddhavṛṣṇayami RM, vṛvṛṣṇis K triṣṭubhaujaḥ] triṣṭubhaujas K, tṛṣṇyabhojaḥ Ku Pa Mā [Ma], tṛṣṇābhojaḥ JM, tṛṣṇabhojaḥ RM subhitam] Or, sukṛtam K ugravīrami ugravīrami Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, ugravirami [Mā] indra] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, indra{ḥ} RM pañcadaśena] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, pamcadaśena Ku varca] [Ma] K, varcca Ku JM RM [Mā] Pa sagareṇa] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, samareṇa RM |||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 4 Z K

#### 

brhát sấma kṣatrabhrơd vṛddhávṛṣṇiyam triṣtúbháujaḥ śubhitám ugrávīram líndra stómena pañcadaśéna mádhyam idám vấtena ságareṇa rakṣa ll

#### KS 22.14:70.1-2

brhat sāma kṣatrabhr̄d vr̄ddhavr̄ṣṇyam triṣṭubhaujaś śubhitam ugravīram lindra stomena pañcadaśenauja idam vātena sagareṇa rakṣa li

#### MS 3.16.4:188.4-5

brhát sáma ksatrabhrd vrddhávrsnam tristúbháujah subhitám ugrávīram líndrah stómena pañcadaséna mádhyam idám vátena ságarena raksatu l

For the association of Indra with the Brhat Sāman, Triṣṭubh metre and Pañcadaśa Stoma, see e.g. RV 10.130.5b *índrasya triṣṭúp ihá bhāgáḥ áhnaḥ* 'the Triṣṭubh here was Indra's portion [of the oblation] of the day', AB 4.31.1 *indro vai devatā dvitīyam ahar vahati pañcadaśaḥ stomo brhat sāma triṣṭup chandaḥ* 'Indra as deity bears the second day, the Stoma [is] the Pañcadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Brhat, the metre [is] the Triṣṭubh'. For the connection of the Triṣṭubh metre with the summer season, see TS 7.1.18.1 *tráiṣṭubhena tvā chándasā yunajmi* 

grīṣméṇa tvartúnā havíṣā dīkṣayāmi 'With the Triṣṭubh as metre I yoke you, with the summer season as oblation I consecrate you'.

- a. The PS reading *rāṣṭraṁ* seems to be secondary compared with *sāma* in the parallel texts, because when a Sāman is named throughout this hymn and the next one, the proper name is always followed by the word *sāman* itself: cf. *rathantaraṁ sāmabhiḥ* at 1.2a, *vairūpe sāmann* at 1.6a, *vairāje sāmany* at 1.8a, *revat sāmnāṁ* at 2.2c. There is only one exception to this pattern, namely when the Śākvarī Sāman is named at 1.9c, but in that case the PS and all the parallel texts have the same reading. The reading of **Or** could be possibly due to perseveration from PS 1.18.1d *bṛhad rāṣṭraṁ saṃveśyaṁ dadhātu* 'Let him bestow a great dominion to be occupied' and PS 10.2.7a *vāñchatu tvā bṛhad rāṣṭraṁ* 'Let a great dominion go towards you', but an changing the text to \**sāma* would be a too heavy emendation.
- **b**. Note the variant of **K** *sukrtam* 'well-done', 'well arranged', 'adorned' instead of *śubhitam* of the Orissa manuscripts.
- **cd**. Note the unusual sequence *stomaiḥ pañcadaśena*, instead of which the parallel texts have the easier *stómena pañcadaśéna* 'with the fifteen-fold Stoma'. It seems that all the varieties of Stoma are first generally mentioned, and then the *pancadaśa* variety is explicitly addressed.

At the end of c, there are three variants: the PS reads *varcas* (cf. 1.6cd below), the TS and the MS *mádhyam* and the KS *-oja*. In this case it is almost impossible to understand which one is the authentic reading. In the TS and KS, *indra* in pāda c must be vocative, because of *rakṣa* in the next pāda; the 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative is also better for the metre. The PS and MS both have *rakṣatu*, which makes the line a Jagatī and is clearly secondary. Due to this verb form, *indra* in pāda c must be understood as *indraḥ* (the form actually found in the MS). On the sandhi, see WHITNEY 1889: 175.

# **15.1.5** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] TS $4.4.12.2 \approx KS$ $22.14:70.3-4 \approx \bar{A} \pm \hat{S} \pm$

prācī diśām sahayaśā yaśasvatī +#Ja
viśve devāḥ +prāvṛṣāhnām suvarvatī | \*Ja
idam kṣatram duṣṭaram astuv ojo \*+#Ta
anādhṛṣṭam \*sahasiyam sahasvat || \*+#Ta

O All-gods, during the rainy season of the days let the eastern one among the quarters, being with fame, full of fame, full of light [protect us]. Let this kingdom be invincible strength, unassailable, mighty, victorious.

sahayaśā] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], sahajyaśā Pa, sahadiśāṁ K yaśasvatī] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, yaśasvatīṁ RM, sahasvatī K devāḥ] Or, devāḥ K †prāvṛṣāhnāṁ] prāvṛṣāhnā Or, prāvṛṣahnāṁ K svarvatī] Ku RM K, sarvatī JM, svasvarvatī, Pa Mā [Ma] duṣṭaram] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], duṣṭarim Pa, duṣṭaramam K anādhṛṣṭaṁ] Or, nādhṛṣyaṁ K \*sahasyaṁ] sahasvaṁ Or K sahasvat] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, sahasvata [Mā], sahasvatī K ||] Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku JM RM, Z 5 Z K

#### TS 4.4.12.2

prācī diśām saháyaśā yáśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām súvarvatī lidám kṣatrám duṣṭáram astv ójó 'nādhṛṣṭam sahasríyam sáhasvat ||

#### KS 22.14:70.3-4

prācī diśām sahāśayā no víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svarvit | idam kṣatram duṣṭaram astv ojo 'nādhṛṣṭam sahasríyam sahasvat ||

#### MS 3.16.4:188.6-8

prācī diśām saháyaśā yáśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svàrvatī | [...]

idám kşatrám duştáram astv ójó 'nādhṛṣṭam sahasyam sáhasvat |

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

prācī diśām sahāyaśa yáśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svarvatī lidam kṣatram duṣṭaram astv ojo 'nādhṛṣyam sahasyam sahasvat ll

#### Bhattacharya edits sahasvam in d.

- **a.** Instead of the synonymous sequence *sahayaśā yaśasvatī*, **K** reads *sahadiśāṁ sahasvatī*. The first form is a mistake due to the repetition of the word *diśāṁ*; at the end of the line, the word *sahasvatī* 'victorious', which could also be a good reading, seems instead to be a mistake due to the repetition of the same elements in the compounds: the sequence *saha-yaśā-yaśasvatī* was changed into *saha-diśāṁ-sahas-vatī*. The **Or** readings are common to all the parallel passages, so I adopt them in the text.
- **b**. Bhattacharya edits  $pr\bar{a}v_r\bar{s}\bar{a}hn\bar{a}m$ , which is the reading of all the parallel texts, despite his usual policy to edit the text of the Orissa manuscripts. At 1.2c, 1.5b, 1.7c and 2.2b the forms  $ahn\bar{a}$  and  $ahn\bar{a}m$  alternate in the manuscripts without consistency, and Bhattacharya is inconsistent as well, since he edits  $ahn\bar{a}m$  in the first two passages,  $ahn\bar{a}$  in the other two. Apart from 1.2c, which is a very corrupt line, it seems that the genitive is better than the instrumental in the other passages. The genitive is used in all the parallel texts with the exception of the MS, which in three cases out of four has the instrumental in accord with the Orissa manuscripts.
- **cd**. The MS inverts pādas **cd** of this stanza with pādas **ab** of the next one. Note the variant 'nādhṛṣyam that **K** shares with the ĀśvŚS, and which is a good reading too. At the end of pāda **d**, I emend the text according to the reading of the MS and ĀśvŚS. The reading duṣṭaramam in **K** shows a meaningless repetition of the ending.

# **15.1.6** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.2 $\approx$ KS 22.14:70.5–6 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:188.7, $9 \approx \bar{\text{A}} \pm \hat{\text{S}} \pm \hat{\text{A}} \pm \hat$

vairūpe <sup>+</sup> sāmann iha tac chakeyam	Tb
*jagatyainam vikṣuv ā veśayāmi	Ta
viśve devāḥ saptadaśena vadyam	+#Ta
idam kṣatram *salilavātam ugram	+#Ta

Here with the Vairūpa Sāman may I be able [to do] that, with the Jagatī I cause him to enter into the clans. O All-gods, with the seventeenfold [Stoma] let the speech [protect] this kingdom, ocean-wind, mighty.

vairūpe] K, vairūpe Ku RM Mā, vairūpa JM, vairūpo Pa [Ma] †sāmann iha] sāmanyaha Ku Pa Mā [Ma], sāmami iha RM, sāma{m}n iha JM, sāman iha K tac chakeyam tachakeyam Ku, [Ma], tat sakeyam JM RM Mā, ta{sa}c chakeyam Pa, taś chakeyam K \*jagatyainam] jagatyainad Or, jagatyetu K vikṣv ā] Mā [Ma], vi{śvā}(+ kṣ·) Ku, viśvā JM, vikṣā Pa RM, vrkṣā K viśve] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, vis(→ś)ve Pa devāḥ] Or, devās K vadyam] Pa Mā [Ma], vaddham Ku JM RM, varca K kṣatram] Or, kṣettram K \*salilavātam] salilāvatam Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, śalilāvatam RM ||] Ku JM Mā Ma Pa, |RM, Z 6 Z K

#### TS 4.4.12.2

vairūpé sāmann ihá tác chakema jágatyainam vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ l víśve devāḥ saptadaśéna várca idám kṣatrám salilávātam ugrám ll

#### KS 22.14:70.5-6

vairūpeņa sāmnā tac chakeyam jagatyainam vikṣv ā veśayāmi | viśve devās saptadaśena madhyam idam kṣatram salilam vātam ugram ||

#### MS 3.16.4:188.7-9

vairūpé sāmann ádhí táñ śakeyam jágatyainam vikṣv  $\acute{a}$  veśayāmi  $\parallel$  [...]

vísve devāḥ saptadaséna várca idám kṣatrám salilávātam ugrám ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairūpe sāmann iha tac chakeyam jagatyainam viksv āveśayāni | viśve devāḥ saptadaśena varca idam kṣatram salilavātam ugram ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *sāmanyaha* in **a** and *salilāvatam* in **d**.

For the association of the All-gods with the Vairūpa Sāman, Jagatī metre and Saptadaśa Stoma, see, e.g., RV 10.130.5c víśvān deváñ jágaty á viveśa 'The Jagatī entered the All-gods', AB 5.1.1 viśve vai devā devatās tṛtīyam ahar vahanti saptadaśaḥ stomo vairūpaṁ sāma jagatī chando 'The All-gods as deities bear the third day, the Stoma [is] the Saptadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Vairupa, the metre [is] the Jagatī'. For the connection of the Jagatī metre with the rainy season, see TS 7.1.18.1 jágatena tvā chándasā yunajmi varṣábhir tvartúnā havíṣā dīkṣayāmi 'With the Jagatī as metre I yoke you, with the rainy season as oblation I consecrate you'.

- **a**. For the sandhi of final -*n* before vowel, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI ff. The locative is here used in an instrumental meaning, as suggested also by the reading of the KS *vairūpeṇa sāmnā* (cf. Ved. Var. III, 300).
- **b**. The Orissa manuscripts have the neuter *enad* instead of the masculine *enam* of the other versions. The neuter can hardly be correct here, since the enclitic is used exclusively in an anaphoric sense; an emendation to \**enam*, referring to the king, is therefore highly recommended and I adopt it in the text, also because the confusion between -*dv* and -*mv* is possible in late Gupta script.
- **c**. Following Bhattacharya, I adopt the reading *vadyam*; **K** reads *varca*, which might be due to the influence of the parallel texts or to perseveration from PS 15.1.4c above. The readings of the Orissa manuscripts could derive from a corruption of *madhyam*, which is found in the text of the KS.
- d. The reading *salilāvatam*, which is in all the manuscripts, must already have been corrupted in the archetype. On this pāda, see THIEME 1961: 103, with the translation: "Diese Herrschaft [soll sein] von salzigem Wind, stark" and the comment "Der Gedanke ist selbstverständlich, daß sie (diese Herrschaft) sich bis zur Grenze der Erde, das ist: der Küste des Meeres, ausdehnen soll". Cf. further my note on 1.8c and 1.9c.

# **15.1.7** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.3 $\approx$ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 $\approx$ KS 22.14:70.7–8 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:188.10–11

dhartrī diśām kṣatram idam <sup>+</sup>dādhartu--upasthāśānām mitravad ast<sub>u</sub>v ojaḥ | (+#)Ta

\*T2

mitrāvaruņā *śaradāhnām +cikitnū	T2
asmai kṣatrāya mahi śarma yachatam	Jb

Let the supporter among the quarters support this kingdom, let the lap of the regions be strength rich in allies. O Mitra and Varuṇa, wise in the autumn of the days, let you two accord great protection to this kingdom!

dhartrī] K, dhatrī Or kṣatram] Or, kṣattram K idam] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, ida RM †dādhartūpasthāśānām] tādhatupastāsānā Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, tādhatupastāsānām Mā, dadhartu upastvāśānām K mitravad] Or, mittravad K astv ojaḥ] RM K, astojaḥ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa mitrāvaruṇā] mitrāvaruṇā Or, mittrāvaruṇā K \*śaradāhnām] śaradāhnā Or K †cikitnū] cikitnu [Ma], ciKITNU Mā, cikatnu Ku Pa, cikatnū JM RM, jigarbhū K asmai] Ku RM [Ma] Pa K, Asmai Mā, asme JM kṣatrāya] Or, kṣattrāṇi K yachatam] Or, yaśchatam K ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 7 Z K

#### TS 4.4.12.3

dhartrī diśām kṣatrám idám dādhāropasthāśānām mitrávad astv ójaḥ | mítrāvaruṇā śarádāhnām cikitnū asmái rāṣṭrāya máhi śárma yachatam ||

#### KS 22.14:70.7-8

yantrī diśām kṣatram idam dādhāropasthāśā mitravatīdam ojaḥ | mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām jigatnū adabdha kṣatram idam astv ojaḥ ||

#### MS 3.16.4:188.10-11

dhartrī diśām kṣatrám idám dādhāropasthāśānām mitrávad astv ójaḥ | mitrāváruṇā śarádāhnā cikittám asmé rāṣṭrāya máhi śárma yachatam ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

dhartrī diśām kṣatram idam dādhāropasthāśā mitravad astv ojaḥ | mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām cikitvam asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarme yachatam ||

Bhattacharya edits śaradāhnā +cikitnū in  $\mathbf{c}$ .

- a. On the perfect form dādhartu, see KÜMMEL 2000: 262–263.
- **c**. The emendation \**śaradāhnām* is suggested both by the parallel texts and by the parallel expressions found at 1.5b above (*prāvṛṣāhnām*) and 2.2b below (*samvatsareṇa ahnām*). See under 1.5b.

# **15.1.8** [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] TS $4.4.12.3 = MS 3.16.4:188.12-13 \approx KS 22.14:70.9-10 \approx ĀśvŚS 4.12.2$

vairāje *sāmann adhi me manīṣā-	Tb
-anuṣṭubhā saṁbhr̥taṁ vīr¡yaṁ +sahaḥ	Ja
idam kṣatram mitravad <sup>+</sup> ārdradān <sub>u</sub> v <sup>*</sup> ojo	*+#°Ta
mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatye	T2

My mind is [intent] on the Vairāja Sāman. Through the Anuṣṭubh manly power has been collected. O Mitra and Varuṇa, you two must defend in supremacy this kingdom rich in allies, to which (heavenly) moisture is given, the strength!

\*samann] sāmany **Pa Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, sāmaNY **Ku**, sāmamny **JM RM** manīṣānuṣṭubhā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, manīṣā 'nuṣṭubhā **JM** sambhṛtam'] **Or**, sambhṛtam' **K** vīryam'] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vīrya **Ku** \*sahaḥ] saha **Or**, saḥ **K** kṣatram mitravad] **Or**, kṣattram mitravad **K** \*ārdradānv \*ojo] ārdradāmnodā [**Ma**], ādradāmnodā **Ku RM Mā Pa**, ādradāmnodā **JM**, ānvojā **K** mitrāvaruṇā mitrāvarṇā **Or**, mittrāvaruṇā **K** rakṣatam] **Or**, rakṣatum **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.4.12.3 = MS 3.16.4:188.12-13

vairājé sāmann ádhi me manīṣānuṣṭúbhā sámbhrṭam vīryàm sáhaḥ lidám kṣatrám mitrávad ārdrádānu mítrā váruṇā rákṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

#### KS 22.14:70.9-10

vairāje sāmann adhi me manīṣānuṣṭubhā sambhrtam duṣṭaram sahaḥ lidam kṣatram mitravad ārdradānv ojo mitrā varuṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairāje sāmann adhi me manīṣānuṣṭubhā sambhr̥tam vīryam sahaḥ lidam kṣatram mitravad ārdradānum mitrā varuṇā rakṣatam ādhipatye ll

# Bhattacharya edits $\underline{o}j\bar{a}$ in **c**.

- **a**. All the manuscripts point to a locative *sāmani*, but a caesura after the sixth syllable would be awkward, and this reading could easily be explained by perseveration from 15.1.6a. I prefer in both cases to have the form *samann*, which is found in all parallel passages as well. For the association of Mitra and Varuṇa with the Vairāja Sāman, see RV 10.130.5a *virāṇ mitrāváruṇayor abhiśrīr* 'The Virāj attached to Mitra and Varuṇa'.
- **b**. For the connection of the Anuṣṭubh metre with the autumn season, see TS 7.1.18.1–2 *anuṣṭubhena tvā chándasā yunajmi śarádā tvartúnā havíṣā dīkṣayāmi* 'With the Anuṣṭubh as metre I yoke you, with the autumn season as oblation I consecrate you'. I translate the asyndetic expression *vīryam sahaḥ* (lit. 'manliness, power') as a hendiadys.
- c. On ārdradānu-, see MYLIUS 1994: 191 note 387: "Dieses scheinbar keinen Sinn ergebende Attribut erklärt sich daraus, daß der Text, dem mantra entstammt, an der Grenze zum semiariden Gebiet Nordindiens entstand. Genügender Niederschlag gehörte daher in besonderem Maße zur vorteilhaften Ausstattung eines Reiches". The accentuation in the TS and MS shows that this compound is a Bahuvrīhi, to be interpreted as yásmai ārdrám dānu dīyáte 'to which (heavenly) moisture is given' or 'which receives [abundant] moisture as a (heavenly) gift'. There is no doubt that wishing for abundant rain is concerned here, as confirmed by the use of ārdradānu- in the difficult stanza ŚS 16.3.4 vimokáś ca mārdrápaviś ca mấ hāsistām ārdrádānuś ca mā mātaríśvā ca mấ hāsistām 'May the releaser and the one having wet tires not abandon me; may the one giving moisture as gift and Mātariśvan not abandon me', where the compound evidently refers to a divine dispenser of rain. Nevertheless, as reasonable it may be, Mylius's explanation fails to recognize the ritualistic background for the use of this compound. I think that, in our stanza, ārdradānu- is used with special reference to the gods Mitra and Varuna, who in the next pada are requested to secure the protection of the kingdom. Mitra and Varuna are called dānunas pátī 'lords of the (heavenly) gift (= rain)' in two Rgvedic passages, 1.136.3d jyótişmat kşatrám āśāte ādityā dānunas pátī 'The two of them have obtained a brilliant kingdom, the two Ādityas, lords of the (heavenly) gift' and 2.41.6ab tấ samrấjā ghṛtấsutī ādityấ dấnunas pátī 'The two of them, sovereign kings, fed with ghee, the two Ādityas, lords of the (heavenly) gift'. Therefore it was natural for the redactor to qualify

the kingdom as 'receiving moisture as a (heavenly) gift' while asking to Mitra and Varuṇa, 'lords of the (heavenly) gift', to protect the kingdom itself.

Note also the close connection with the parallel line 1.6d: apart from the word *mitravad*, which is only in 1.8c, the two lines share the same pāda-initial *idam kṣatram*, and also contain the etymologically related words *ojo* and *ugram*. Most striking of all is the similarity between \**salilavātam* in 6d and *ārdradānu* in 8c. Both highlight a geographical-meteorological feature of the kingdom: on the one hand, salty wind blowing from the sea; on the other hand, the heavenly gift of moisture.

At the end of the line, Bhattacharya edits  $\dot{}$   $\underline{o}\underline{j}\underline{a}$ . The TS and the MS seem to have preserved a better text, in which this word is lacking. The KS reads ojo, and I adopt this reading for the PS as well, even though all the manuscripts point to a final long  $-\bar{a}$ . At any rate, this word seems to be a secondary insertion.

# **15.1.9** [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] TS $4.4.12.3 \approx KS$ $22.14:70.11-12 \approx MS$ $3.16.4:188.14-189.1 \approx ĀśvŚS 4.12.2$

samrāḍ diśāṁ <sup>+</sup> sahasāmnī sahasvat <sub>i</sub> y	*Ja
rtur hemanto *viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu	T2
oṣajātām bṛhatī ca śakvarī-	+ <b>J</b> 1
-imam yajñam <sup>+</sup> avatān no ghrtācī	Ta

Let the sovereign among the quarters, rich in  $S\bar{a}$ mans, victorious, let the winter season in its turn preserve us. Let the high and ...(?) Śakvarī verse, like ghee, help this worship of ours.

samrāḍ] K, samrāṭ Ku JM Pa [Ma], sa{·}mrāṭ RM, samrāṭa Mā †sahasāmnī] sahasāmni JM RM Mā [Ma], sahasāmna Ku, Sahasām·· Pa, sahasamnī K sahasvaty rtur] JM RM Mā [Ma] K, sahasvatyutur Ku, sahasvaTYrtu Pa \*viṣṭhayā] viṣṭayā Or, viṣṇayā K naḥ] Or, naḥ K pipartu] piparttu Or, pipantu K oṣajātām] Ku RM Mā [Ma] K, oṣajā{ja}tām JM, oṣajā{·}(→ tām) Pa brhatī] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, brhat{i}ī Pa ca] Or, tu K †avatān] avatām Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, avatā [Mā], amrtān K ∥] Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku JM RM, Z 9 Z K

#### TS 4.4.12.3

samrād diśām sahásāmnī sáhasvaty rtúr hemantó viṣṭháyā naḥ pipartu | avasyúvātāḥ brhatīr nú śákvarīr imám yajñám avantu no ghṛtācīḥ ||

# KS 22.14:70.11-12

samrād diśām sahasāmnī sahasvaty rtur hemanto viṣṭhayā pipartu naḥ | avasyuvātā brhatī no śakvarīmam yajñam avatu yā ghrtācī ||

#### MS 3.16.4:188.14-189.1

samrāḍ diśām sahásāmnī sáhasvaty rtúr hemantó viṣṭháyā naḥ pipartu | avasyúvātā brhatī ná śákvarī diśām tevy àvatu no ghṛtācī ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

samrāḍ diśām sahasāmnī sahasvaty rtur hemanto viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu | avasyuvātā brhatī nu śakvarīmam yajñam avatu no ghrtācī ||

Bhattacharya edits  $o\underline{s}a\underline{j}a\underline{t}a\underline{m}$  and tu in  $\mathbf{c}$ .

- **a**. Note the word play between the two forms  $sahas\bar{a}mn\bar{\iota}$  and sahasvaty, both beginning with the sound sequence s-a-h-a-s-.
- **b**. The emendation to \* $visthay\bar{a}$  has been proposed by Bhattacharya. On the meaning of  $visthaf{a}$ -, see SCARLATA 1999: 655–656.
- c. The parallel texts have  $avasyuv\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  'with favouring wind, having a wind desirous of helping', referring to the Śakvarī verses. This reading, which is also better for the metre (note the wrong cadence in PS), conforms to the content of other stanzas, in which a particular wind is called to secure the protection of the kingdom (cf. 1.2d?, 1.4d, 1.6d, 2.1b, 2.4d). I cannot offer a good solution for the problematic reading of the PS, which is difficult both morphologically and semantically. There cannot be a feminine accusative here, and the form should therefore be emended to  $*oṣaj\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  (referring to  $śakvar\bar{\imath}$ ) or  $*oṣaj\bar{a}tam$  (referring to  $yaj\bar{n}am$ ). The position in the verse and the fact that there is an epithet of the Śakvarī verses in the parallel texts offer evidence in favour of the first emendation. As to the meaning,  $*oṣaj\bar{a}ta$ -would literally mean 'born from burning', but this meaning is not satisfactory at all.

Another attractive solution would be to assume that a wind is concerned here, as in the parallel texts, and to emend the text to \*oṣavāta- 'burning wind', a formation comparable to salilavāta- (found at 1.6d above) and avasyuvāta-. The translation would be as follows: 'Let the two high Śakvarī verses, with burning wind...'.

Bhattacharya edits the reading of  $\mathbf{K}$  tu, reporting the variant ca only for  $\mathbf{Ma}$ ; the reading ca, however, is clear also in  $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  and in all the other Orissa manuscripts, so I adopt it in the text, as syntactically more fitting than tu.

**d**. I slightly emend the text of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts to  $avat\bar{a}n$ ,  $3^{rd}$  singular imperative future.

# **15.1.10** [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] TS $4.4.12.4 \approx \text{KS} \ 22.14:70.13-14 \approx \text{MS} \ 3.16.4:189.2-3 \approx \bar{\text{A}} \acute{\text{s}} \acute{\text{v}} \acute{\text{S}} \acute{\text{S}}$ 4.12.2

s <sub>u</sub> varvatī sudughā naḥ payasvatī	Ja
diśām deviy avatu no ghrtācī	+#Ta
tuvam gopāḥ puraetota paścād	*Ta
brhaspate yāmiyām yundhi vācam	*Ta

Let the one full of light, which easily yields milk for us, rich in milk, the goddess of the quarters, like ghee, help us. You [are] the shepherd, you go in front and behind. O Brhaspati, yoke Yama's voice!

naḥ] **Or**, na **K** brhaspate] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** K, brhasp{e}ate **Ku** yāmyām] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] K, yām⟨·⟩ **Pa** yundhi] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ⟨··⟩ **Pa**, yugdhi **K** vācam] vācam **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] K, ⟨·⟩cam **Pa** ||] || r 10 || 1 || **Ku JM**, | r | 1 || **RM**, || 1 || r 10 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 10 Z kāṇḍāḥ 1 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.4.12.4

súvarvatī sudúghā naḥ páyasvatī diśām devy àvatu no ghṛtā́cī l tvám gopāḥ puraetótá paścād bṛhaspate yāmyām yuṅgdhi vā́cam ||

#### KS 22.14:70.13-14

svarvatī sudughā yā payasvatīmam yajñam avatu yā ghṛtācī | tvam no gopā avitota yantā bṛhaspate yāmyām yuṅgdhi vācam ||

#### MS 3.16.4:189.2-3

svàrvatī sudúghā naḥ páyasvatīmám yajñám avatu yấ ghṛtắcī l tvám gopấḥ puraetótá paścấd bṛ́haspate yấmyām yuṅgdhi vắcam ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

svarvatī sudughā naḥ payasvatī diśām yajñam avatu no ghṛtācī l tvam gopā puraetota paścād bṛhaspate yābhyām yundhi vācam ||

- c. For the construction of *puraetar* with adverbs, see TICHY 1995: 358–359. This epithet refers to Brhaspati at  $\pm 5.35$  s. 1b = PS 20.4.2b and, in the PS only, at 1.71.2a, 4.10.1b, 19.38.14b, 20.25.8b.
- **d**. I take  $y\bar{a}my\bar{a}m$  as a feminine accusative singular from the adjective  $y\bar{a}mya$ -, connected with  $v\bar{a}cam$ . The adjective  $y\bar{a}mya$  means 'relating or belonging to Yama', the king of the dead, as well as 'southern', as Yama's abode was traditionally situated in the South. Another possible translation would be 'a southern voice', but then the meaning would be unclear.

TICHY 1995: 359 translates our pāda 'Brhaspati, spanne die Rede zur Ausfahrt an!' and suggests that "Einen Hinweis auf die Bedeutung von yāmya- gibt der Mantra námo yāmyāya ca kṣémyāya ca 'Verehrung dem, der auf Fahrt ist und der sich ruhig niedergelassen hat' VS XVI 33; MS II 9, 6:125,5; TS IV 5,6,1"; this meaning, however, is rather unsatisfactory, since there is no need to take the two names in the dative, which are part of a longer list, as antonym. Moreover, Tichy's translation of yāmya- suggests a connection of this form with the root yā-'to go', which is problematic (see KEWA III, 8).

The manuscripts of the KS read  $y\bar{a}my\bar{a}$ , which von Schroeder emended to  $y\bar{a}my\bar{a}m$  according to the parallel texts. Ved. Var. III, 302 takes the KS form as an instrumental singular from  $y\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ , adding that the instrumental fits well with verbal expression of joining; the translation given there, however, does not really help the interpretation: "the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with)  $y\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ ', whatever  $y\bar{a}m\bar{i}$  may mean".

## 15.2. For the protection of the kingdom (continued)

15.2.1 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.17–18 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.6–7 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 stomaikaviṁśe bhuvanasya patni

\*vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi | Tb
ghṛtavatī savitar ādhipatye +(#)Ta
payasvatī rantir āśā no astu || Ta

O you having the twenty-onefold as a Stoma, lady of the world, with the Vivasvant wind, be propitious to us. O Savitar, let the region, [our] delight, be in supremacy, full of ghee, full of milk for us.

stomaikavimśe] **Ku JM RM K**, staumaikavimśe **Pa Mā [Ma]** bhuvanasya] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, bhuVANAsya **Ku** patni] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, patnī **Ku**, pattri **K** \*vivasvadvāte] vivasvagvāte **Or**, viśvagvāte **K** savitar ādhipatye] **Or**, savitādhitye **K** āśā] **K**, āsā **Or** |||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.4.12.4

stómatrayastrimše bhúvanasya patni vívasvadvāte abhí naḥ gṛṇāhi | ghṛtávatī savitar ā́dhipatyaiḥ páyasvatī rántir ā́sā no astu ||

#### KS 22.14:70.17-18

stomatrayastrimse bhuvanasya patni vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi | ghṛtavatī savitur ādhipatye payasvatī rantir āsā no astu ||

#### MS 3.16.4:189.6-7

stómastrayastrimše bhúvanasya pátnī vívasvadvāte abhí no gṛṇīhi | ghṛtávatī savitúr ādhipatye páyasvatī rātír āśā no astu ||

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

stomatrayastrimse bhuvanasya patnī vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi | ghṛtavatī savitar ādhipatye payasvatī rantir āsā no astu ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *vivasvagvāte* in **b**.

**a.** Note that the PS mentions the *ekavimśa* Stoma instead of the *trayastrimśa* Stoma of the other texts. This is no doubt an innovation, as the Revat Sāman mentioned in the next stanza consists of 33 verses, so its association with the 33-fold Stoma is natural. There is no need to think that the Paippalādins had a particular reason for changing the Yajurvedic text: as stated by Gonda 1987b: 540 [= 1991: 479] "the *ekavimśa-stoma*, a form of chanting *stotras* in which the stanzas are increased to this number, is a frequent object of ritualistic speculation". On the word *bhúvana*-, see Gonda 1967.

The 'lady of the world' is probably the upward quarter mentioned in the following stanza.

**b**. The erroneous reading *vivasvagvāte* is certainly due to perseveration from PS 2.36.5a and PS 5.7.2a, where the word *viṣvagvāta*- 'a wind blowing from all directions' is attested (note that **K** reads *viśvagvāte* at PS 2.36.5a and *viśvagvāto* at PS 5.7.2a). I emend the text according to the parallel passages. The meaning of *vivasvadvāta*- is uncertain (MW '(prob.) loved by Vivasvat', Keith 'breathed on by Vivasvat'), but it seems that here again a wind is concerned.

# **15.2.2** [**Tristubh**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.4 $\approx$ KS 22.14:70.15–16 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:189.4–5 $\approx$ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ūrdhvā diśāṁ rantir āśauṣadhīnāṁTasaṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām |Tbrevat sāmanāṁ paṅktiś chandasāmT1cajātaśatruḥ sɨyonā no astu ||+#Tb

Let the upward one among the quarters, the delight, the region of the herbs, let Savitar during the year of days [protect] us. Let the Revat among the Sāmans, the fivefold one among the metres, unrivalled, be gentle to us.

ūrdhvā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, urdvā **Pa** āśauṣadhīnām] **K**, āsauṣadhīnām **Or** samvatsareṇa] **JM Pa K**, samvatsareṇa **RM**, samvat¸sareṇa **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] ahnām] **K**, ahnā **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**], {ā}ahnā **JM**, Ahnā **Pa** panktiś] pamktiḥ **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], pamktiś **JM**, pakti **RM**, paktiḥ **Pa**, panktis **K** chandasām] **Ku RM Pa Mā K**, cha{sā}ndasām **JM**, chandasā [**Ma**] ajātaśattruḥ] **Ku RM Pa** [**Ma**], ajātaśattrūḥ **JM Mā**, ajātaśattrus **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.4.12.4

ūrdhvā diśām rántir āśauṣadhīnām samvatsarena savitā no ahnām ∣ revat sāmātichandā u chando 'jātaśatruḥ syonā no astu ∥

#### KS 22.14.70:15-16

ūrdhvā diśām rantir āśáuṣadhīnām samvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām ∣ revat sāmāticchandā u cchando 'jātaśatrus suhavo na edhi ∣∣

#### MS 3.16.4:189.4-5

ūrdhvá diśām rantír āśáuṣadhīnām samvatsaréṇa savitá no áhnā ∣ revát sấmátichandā u chándó 'jātaśatruḥ syoná no astu ∥

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ūrdhvām diśām rantir āśáuṣadhīnām samvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām ∣ raivat sāmāticchandā u cchando ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu ∣∣

## Bhattacharya edits $ahn\bar{a}$ in **b** and $^+pankti\acute{s}$ in **c**.

- **b**. The reading  $ahn\bar{a}$  of **Or** is also the reading of the MS; see under 1.5b. On the problem of the word for 'year' occurring in the instrumental, see GONDA 1984a: 34 ff.
- c. The "+"-sign before *panktiś* is unnecessary. Note that this is a catalectic Triṣṭubh pāda. This pāda is found in a Triṣṭubh stanza together with three hendecasyllables. From a general point of view, it is not uncommon to find pādas of ten syllables among hendecasyllables a phenomenon that appears to be increasingly common in the AV. Moreover, this verse could be scanned as a Triṣṭubh pāda by reading *chandasaām*, but this restoration would produce an irregular cadence, which suggests that in this case an interpretation as a "Pentadenreihe" is preferable. This hypothesis is also supported by the wordplay on the number "five" created by the mention of the Paṅkti (lit. "a set of five") metre that follows the caesura, pointing to a division of the line into 5 + 5 syllables. This is surely a secondary development in relation to the parallel texts, which mention the Atichandas metre, whose position after the Paṅkti metre is more appropriate.

In order to understand why this pāda was intentionally composed as a decasyllable and that the redactor had a specific purpose in mind, one has to consider the context of the whole hymn. One of the major roles in the axiological systematization of the universe as described in this hymn is indeed represented by the various forms of metre. It is very attractive to think that the redactor tried to reproduce the concept expressed by his poetic words (the mention of a specific metre, Pańkti), in the concrete shape of their metrical form (a "Pentadenreihe").<sup>39</sup>

**d**. The adjective *syonā* is in grammatical agreement with *panktiś*, which is feminine, but refers *ad sensum* also to *revat*.

# **15.2.3** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ TS 4.4.12.5 $\approx$ MS 3.16.4:190.1–2, ab: $\approx$ KS 22.14:71.1 $\approx$ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 $^+$ viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛthivyā +Tb asyeśānā jagato viṣṇupatnī | Ta viśvavyacā iṣayantī suhūtiḥ Ta syonā no ast<sub>u</sub>v aditer upasthe || \*Tb

The prop of the sky, supporter of the earth, mistress of this world, wife of Viṣṇu; all-extending, arousing, easily-invoked, let her be gentle to us, in the lap of Aditi.

†viṣṭambho] viṣṭamvo **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vimvo [**Mā**], viṣkambho **K** dharuṇaḥ] dharṇaḥ **Ku**, dharṇaḥ **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, daruṇaḥ **K** pṛthivyā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pṛthivya **JM** asyeśānā] **Or**, yasyeśānā **K** iṣayantī] **Or**, ṛṣayantī **K** suhūtiḥ] **JM**, suhūti **RM**, suhutiḥ **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, sahobhiḥ **K** syonā] **Or**, syono **K** astv] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, asastv **Pa** aditer upasthe] **K**, aditerpasthe **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], adit(+e)ṛPAsthe **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

## TS 4.4.12.5

viṣṭambhó divó dharúṇaḥ pṛthivyā asyéśānā jágato víṣṇupatnī | viśvávyacā iṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivā no astv áditir upásthe ||

#### MS 3.16.4:190.1-2

vişṭambhó divó dharúṇā pr̥thivyā asyéśānā jágato víṣṇupatnī | vyácasvatīṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivā no astv áditer upásthe ||

#### KS 22.14:71.1

vişţambho divo dharuṇaḥ prthivyā asyéśānā sahaso viṣṇupatnī

#### ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛthivyā asyeśānā jagato viṣṇupatnī | vyacaksvatīṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivấ no astv áditer upásthe ||

## Bhattacharya edits suhutih in c.

**c**. The reading *suhutiḥ* of Bhattacharya's edition makes no sense and produces an irregular cadence. I adopt the text of **JM** *suhūtiḥ*, which features a regular cadence and for which see PS 1.95.1ab *rudra mā tvā jihīḍāma suṣṭutyā maghavan mā +suhūtyā* 'O Rudra, we don't want to make you angry, with an excellent praise, O bountiful, with a good invocation/oblation', ŚS 7.4.1a = PS 20.1.10a *ékayā ca daśábhiś cā suhūte* 'With one and with ten, O easily-invoked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For this method of metrical analysis, I refer to KNOBL 2007, 2008, 2009.

one' and the hapax *suhūtala*- attested at PS 5.1.3a *hā amba suhūtale* 'Hey, mother Suhūtalā (easy to invoke)'.

Another possibility would be to emend the text to \*subhūtih, according to the parallel texts.

<b>15.2.4</b> [ <b>Triṣṭubh</b> ] TS $4.4.12.5 = \bar{A} \pm \hat{S} + \hat{S} +$	16, cd: KS 22.14:71.2
dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny aghorā-	T1
-asyeśānā sahaso yā manotā	Ta
brhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuḥ	Ta
samdhānā vātā abhi no gṛṇantu	Tb

Let the steady one among the quarters, wife of Viṣṇu, undisturbing, the mistress and disposer of this strength, let Bṛhaspati, Mātariśvan and Vāyu, the winds joining together be propitious to us.

dhruvā] K, dhrvā Ku RM Mā [Ma], dhrvām JM, DHrVĀ Pa, viṣṇupatny aghorāsyeśānā] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, viṣṇupatnī ghorāsyeśānā Ku, viṣṇupatnaghorāsyeśānā K yā] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K, jā JM RM brhaspatir] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, b⟨rha⟩s⟨pa⟩tir Pa mātariśvota] Ku RM Mā [Ma], mātari{··}śvota JM, mātariś⟨v⟩ota Pa, marutosyota K vāyuḥ] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, vāy⟨u⟩ḥ Pa saṁdhānā] Ku K, sandhānā JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa abhi] Or, api K no] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, to (→ no) Ku, nas K gṛṇantu] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], g⟨r⟩n{i}an⟨tu⟩ Pa, kṛnotu K ∥] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 4 Z K

dhruvā diśām viṣṇupatny ághorāsyéśānā sáhaso yā manótā | bṛhaspátir mātaríśvotá vāyúḥ saṃdhuvānā vātā abhí no gṛṇantu ||

#### MS 3.16.4:189.15-16

dhruvā diśām víṣṇupatny ághorāsyéśānā sáhaso yā manótā | bṛhaspátir mātaríśvotá vāyúḥ sámdhvānā vātā abhí no gṛṇantu ||

#### KS 22.14:71.2

brhaspatir mātariśvota vāyus samdhvānā vātā abhi no grņantu ||

**d**. Note that all the parallel texts read *sámdhvānā* '(the winds) whistling together', which is clearly the *lectio difficilior* in comparison with *samdhānā* '(the winds) joining together', found in the PS and in one manuscript (P) of the MS.

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15.2.5 [Triṣṭubh] ab: TS 4.6.2.1 \approx MS \ 2.10.3:134.7 \approx KS \ 18.1:265.10 = KapKS \ 28.2:121.16; cd <math>\approx TS \ 4.6.2a; a: cf. RV \ 10.82.3a, ŚS 2.1.3a, cd: RV \ 10.81.1cd = TS \ 4.6.2.1 = KS \ 18.1:265.4 = KapKS \ 28.2:121.10-11, MS 2.10.2:133.1-2 = VSM \ 17.17
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```
yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhartā
yo naḥ sato abhiy ā saj jajāna | *Ta
sa āśiṣā draviṇam ichamānaḥ +#Ta
prathamachado (')vara ā viveśa || +Tb
```

He who [is] our father, our begetter, who [is] our supporter, who begot us from being into being, he seeking wealth with prayer entered into the favour of the first coverer.

naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** naḥ sato] **Or**, nas svato **K** ā saj jajāna] **JM RM** [**Ma**], a saj janā(→jā)na **Ku**, ā saj ⟨?⟩jāna **Pa**, ā saj jāna [**Mā**], ā saj janāna **K** draviņam] **JM RM** [**Ma**] **K**, draviņa{ḥ}m **Ku**, draviņam mi [**Mā**], ·VIṇam **Pa** ichamānaḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], i⟨ch⟩amānaḥ **Pa**, iśchamānaḥ **K** prathamachado] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, prathachado [**Mā**], prathamas sa no **K** ||| **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

TS 4.6.2.1 ≈ MS 2.10.3:134.7 yó naḥ pitấ janitấ yó vidhātấ (MS vidhartấ) yó naḥ sató abhy ấ sáj jajấna ∥

KS 18.1:265.10 = KapKS 28.2:121.16 yó naḥ pitấ janitấ yó vidhātấ yó nas (KapKS naḥ) sató abhy ấ sán ninấya |

RV 10.81.1 = TS 4.6.2.1 = KS 18.1:265.3–4 = KapKS 28.2:121.10–11= MS 2.10.2:133.1–2 = VSM 17.17 yá imấ víśvā bhúvanāni júhvad ŕṣir hótā ny ásīdat (TS niṣasấsā) pitấ naḥ | sá āśíṣā dráviṇam ichámānaḥ prathamachád (TS, KS paramachád) ávarām ấ viveśa ||

ad. This stanza marks the transition from the first part to the second part of the composition. The comparison with the parallel texts clearly shows that, in this case, the source of the PS is the TS, in which this stanza is recited during an oblation to Viśvakarman. All the Yajurvedic recensions have taken this stanza from the RV, but while the KS, MS and VSM have preserved exactly the same readings as the RV, the TS (and, accordingly, the PS) has a different and inferior text in the last line, one whose meaning is difficult to explain. Keith (1914: 365) translates pādas cd, 'He seeking wealth with prayer hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', adding in a footnote that "the exact sense is uncertain". The Rgvedic passage, which is about the poet described as creator of all existing things, offers a better sense, and was rendered by Geldner, 'Er ist, mit seiner Bitte Reichtum wünschend, in die spätere (Geschöpfe) eingegangen, während er die ersten verhüllt', and by AMBROSINI 1981: 81, "Tendendo col desiderio al proprio bene, si è incarnato negli ultimi, lasciando che i primi restassero velati". Both interpret the opposition between prathama- and avara- in cosmic terms, so that the meaning would be that recent things, having just been created, can be understood, while the origin of the world remains hidden. Griffith interprets avara- in a local sense, and his translation, 'He, seeking through his wish a great possession, came among men on earth as archetypal,' is probably less accurate. The text of the TS and of the PS is secondary, syntactically ambiguous and not clear as regards the meaning. As I argued in the introduction to these hymns, it is likely that this and the following three stanzas — whose ritual character is evident — were added after the invocations of the previous stanzas as an appendix aiming to make the oblations effective, and to set them in the more specific ritual context that they lacked in the first place.

**15.2.6** [Uṣṇih] ≈ TS 4.2.7.1 ≈ KS 16.14:237.3–4 = KapKS 25.5:98.9–10 = MS 2.7.14:95.3–4 = VSM 12.103

abhy ā vartasva pṛthivi #A

yajñena payasā saha | A

\*vapām te agnir iṣito (')va rohatu || Jb

Turn towards [us], O Earth, together with worship, with milk. Let Agni, aroused, descend over your caul.

vartasva] **K**, varttasva **Or** pṛthivi] **K** (*sec. m.*  $\rightarrow$  vī), pṛthivī **Or** \*vapām te] apām to **Ku Pa** [**Ma**], apān to **RM** [**Mā**], apām co **JM**, apāmsa te **K** iṣito] **Or**, iṣato **K** va] **Or**, vi **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.2.7.1

abhyấvartasva pṛthivi yajñéna páyasā sahá | vapấm te agnír iṣitó 'va sarpatu ||

KS 16.14:237.3–4 = KapKS 25.5:98.9–10 = MS 2.7.14:95.3–4 = VSM 12.103 abhyá vartasva prthivi yajňéna páyasā sahá | vapám te agnír işitó arohat ||

Bhattacharya edits  $prthiv\bar{i}$  in **a** and  $ap\bar{a}nto$  in **c**.

- **a**. Bhattacharya follows the readings of the Orissa manuscripts  $p_r thiv\bar{\imath}$ , but **K**,  $p_r thiv\bar{\imath}$  has  $p_r thiv\bar{\imath}$  (then corrected to  $p_r thiv\bar{\imath}$  by the scribe). The vocative is no doubt correct here.
- c. I emend the text according to the readings of the TS, KS, MS and VSM. The word  $vap\dot{a}$ -indicates the omentum, a fatty membrane that covers the intestines and part of the viscera of a male goat and is offered during the animal sacrifice. The emendation is not certain, but the form  $ap\bar{a}m/ap\bar{a}n$  (genitive plural 'of the waters'?) found in the manuscripts seems impossible. The word  $vap\bar{a}$  also occurs at RVKh 2.14.6b, and then only from the YV onwards. In the RV it is attested only as the first member of a compound; cf. the formations  $vap\dot{a}vant$  'furnished with or enveloped in the omentum' (5.43.7b, 6.1.3d),  $vap\dot{o}dara$  'fat-bellied, corpulent' (8.17.8a).

Note that the PS has a 3<sup>rd</sup> singular imperative like the TS, but of the same verb as the other Yajurvedic Samhitās.

**15.2.7** [Gāyatrī]  $\approx$  TS 4.2.7.1  $\approx$  KS 16.14:237.5–6 = KapKS 25.5:98.11–12 = VSM 12.104  $\approx$  MS 2.7.14:95.5–6

yad agne candram yat pūtam	#A
yac chukram yac ca yajñiyam	A
tad devebhyo bharāmasi	A

O Agni, that which is shining, which is pure, which is bright and which is worthy of worship, that we bring to the gods.

pūtam] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yūtam **RM** yac chukram] **Ku JM** Mā [**Ma**], yac chūkram **RM**, ya chukram **Pa**, yaś chukram **K** yac ca] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ya ca **Ku**, yaś ca **K** yajñiyam] **Or**, jajñiyam **K** devebhyo] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, debhyo [**Mā**] ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.2.7.1

ágne yát te sukrám yác candrám yát pūtám yád yajñíyam | tád devébhyo bharāmasi ||

KS 16.14:237.5-6 = KapKS 25.5:98.11-12 = VSM  $12.104 \approx$  MS 2.7.14:95.5-6 ágne yát te sukrám yác candrám yát pūtám yác ca yajñíyam | tád devébhyo bharāmasi ||

**ab**. The PS leaves out the enclitic *te* and slightly rearranges the relative clauses of the other Samhitā versions, making only one of the four clauses change position (1234 > 2314); as a result, the metre becomes a regular Anuştubh.

# **15.2.8** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ TS 4.2.7.1 $\approx$ KS 16.14:237.7–8 $\approx$ MS 2.7.14:95.7–8 $\approx$ VSM 12.104 $\approx$ KapKS 25.5:98.13–14

iṣam ūrjam aham ata ādi	(+)#T1
yajñasya yonau mahiṣasya dhāman	Tb
ā no goṣu *viśatuv ā prajāyām	+#Ta
jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām	Tb

From there I have taken the food for myself, the nourishment, in the womb of the worship, in the abode of the buffalo. Let it enter into our cattle, into [our] offspring. I abandon weariness, lack of nourishment, disease.

ūrjam aham ata ādi] **Or**, ūrjasābhrtā **K** yonau] **Or**, yonā **K** mahişasya dhāman] **Or**, mahişasva dhāmam **K** \*viśatv] viśastv **Or K** prajāyām] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, prajā{nana}yām **Pa** sedim] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, {j}sedim **JM**, sedhim **K** anirām] **Or**, ajarām **K** amīvām] amīvām [**Mā**] **K**, amivām **Ku JM RM Pa**, mamivām [**Ma**] ||] || r 8 || **Ku**, || r 8 || 2 || **JM**, | r | 2 || **RM**, || 2 || r 8 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 8 Z kā 2 Z **K** 

#### TS 4.2.7.1

íṣam ūrjam ahám itá ādada rtásya dhāmno amrtasya yóneḥ lā no góṣu viśatv áuṣadhīṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ||

#### KS 16.14:237.7-8

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādy r̥tasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām | ā no gosu viśaty ā tanūsu jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām ||

#### MS 2.7.14:95.7-8

íṣam ūrjam ahám itá ādi ghṛtásya dhārām mahiṣásya yónim | ā no góṣu viśatv óṣadhīṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ||

#### VSM 12.104

íṣam úrjam ahám itá ấdam rtásya yónim mahiṣásya dhấrām lấ mã góṣu viśatv ấ tanúṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ll

#### KapKS 25.5:98.13-14

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam r̥tasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām | ā no goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām ||

## Bhattacharya edits *viśa<u>stvā</u>* in **c**.

- **a**. On the sequence  $i \circ am \ \bar{u}r j am$ , see MINKOWSKI 1989: 10 (with notes). This sequence is very frequent in the PS: besides this passage, it occurs at PS 1.106.5d, 6a, 5.15.2d, 5.28.3d, 5.31.8c, 7.15.9b, 19.26.1b. On the rout noun  $i \circ s$ -, see BURROW 1955: 326–332 and GONDA 1989b.
- **c**. I emend the reading of all the manuscripts  $vi\acute{s}astv\bar{a}$  in accordance with the parallel passages.
- **d**. For some remarks on the word *sedí* and its connection with  $(an)ir\bar{a}$ -, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 445–446. On  $ám\bar{v}\bar{a}$  see ZYSK 1985: 313–314 and 2009: 49–53. The sequence *anirām amīvām*

occurs at RV 7.71.2c yuyutám asmád ánirām ámīvām 'May you two (Aśvins) keep away from us lack of nourishment, disease'; cf. also RV 8.48.11a ápa tyấ asthur ánirā ámīvā 'Those lacks of nourishment [and] diseases disappeared' and RV 10.37.4cd = PS 17.25.7cd ténāsmád víśvām ánirām ánāhutim ápāmīvām ápa duṣvápnyam suva 'with that, drive off from us every lack of nourishment, worthless sacrifice, [drive] off disease, [drive] off the nightmare'.

Note the variant in  $\mathbf{K}$ , which reads  $ajar\bar{a}m$  'unaging' instead of  $anir\bar{a}m$ .

# 15.3. Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment

PS 15.3 and 4 belong together and are parallel to ŚS 19.44–45. Barret already argued that "the readings given by the Ś manuscripts and commentators indicate that this is one of the hymns of Ś 19 which were taken from Pāipp." (on the relation between kāṇḍa 19 of the ŚS and the PS, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXV–XXXVII). A closer comparison of the two versions reveals indeed that the PS has preserved a more original text (see my comment under 3.1d, 4.2c, 4.4c) and, where the ŚS seems better, this is clearly due to secondary improvements (see my comment under 3.3d, 3.7a, 3.8; in such cases, the erroneous readings of the PS can generally be explained as graphic mistakes).

According to the commentary on the ŚS, this hymn is applied, together with an ointment (āñjana), in a mahāśānti ceremony called nairṛtī, when one is seized by 'destruction' (nirṛti; see AV-Śāntikalpa 16.1; 17.5; 19.7, BOLLING 1904: 117–120 and GONDA 1978: 18). The stanza 15.3.4 is quoted in KauśS 47.16, where it is recited during a witchcraft ceremony (see my comment ad locum).

In my opinion, the most significant fact is that stanzas PS 15.4.4 and PS 15.4.6–10 suggest that this hymn was originally intended to be used during a royal ceremony or at least that the king was involved in the ritual as a patient, which would explain why we find this hymn here at the beginning of this kāṇḍa, within a compact collection of royal hymns (see Introduction). Concatenating links with the preceding hymns are particularly numerous: prthivyām in 3.1a concatenates with prthivyā in 2.3a and prthivi in 2.6a; vātaḥ in 3.5c with vātena in 1.4d, vātā in 2.4d and vivasvadvāte in 2.1b; payaḥ in 3.5c with payasvatī in 1.10a, 2.1d and payasā in 2.6b; viśvatah in 3.6b with viśvato in 1.3d; amīvāh in 3.7c (and in the compound amīvacātanain 3.7b) with amīvām in 2.8d; goşu in 4.2b with goşu in 2.8c, ūrja in 4.3a with ūrjam in 2.8a; ojaso in 4.3a and ojase in 4.6b (and in the refrain of the following stanzas) with ojah in 1.2d, 1.7b, ojo in 1.5c, 1.8c; diśo in 4.4b with many forms of the name diś- found in the preceding hymns (digbhyah in 1.1.a, diśām in 1.3a, 5a, 7a etc.); dhruvas in 4.4c with dhruvā in 2.4a; the sequence pātv asmān in 4.5d occurs in the same position (cadence of a Tristubh line) also in 1.1b, 1.1d, 1.2a; varcasa in 4.6a (and in the refrain of the following stanzas) concatenates with varca in 1.4c; avatu and avantu in 4.6a–4.10a with \*avatān in 1.9d and avatu in 1.10b. Finally, the hymns are linked through the mention of the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra and Savitar.

The hymns ŚS 19.44–45 were translated by Griffith 1895–96: 246–248, Whitney 1905: 966–972, ELIZARENKOVA 1976: 80 ff., SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236f.

PS 15.3–4 and ŚS 19.44–45 were recently treated in detail by KULIKOV forthc., a study to which my translation and notes constantly refer (Kulikov's study is particularly useful also for the effort towards the possible botanical identifications of the plant(s) used for preparing the Traikakuda ointment).

# **15.3.1** [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.44.1

āyuṣo (')si prataraṇam	#A
vipram bheṣajam ucyase	A
tad āñjana tvaṁ śaṁtāte	#A
<sup>+</sup> asi māyobhavaṁ kṛtam	A

You are one who enables to reach longevity, you are called seer, a remedy. So, O beneficent ointment, you are made an enjoyment.

bheṣajam] **Or**, bhejam **K** tad āñjana] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], tad āñjan, **Pa**, yad āñjani **K** tvaṁ] **Or**, bhraṁ **K** śaṁtāte] **K**, santāte **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], santate **Pa** <sup>+</sup>asi] si **Or**, aśi **K** māyobhavaṁ] **Or**, nāṁyobhavaṁ **K** kṛtam] kṛtaṁ || **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, kṛtaṁ || **RM**, kṛtaṁ, 1 Z **K** 

ŚS 19.44.1

áyuşo 'si pratáraṇam vípram bheṣajám ucyase | tád āñjana tvám śamtāte śám ấpo ábhayam kṛtam ||

Bhattacharya edits  $\dot{s}ant\bar{a}te$  in **c** (this reading is erroneously ascribed to **K** in his critical apparatus).

a. On pratáraṇa-, see KIM 2010: 299. For the meaning of the expression  $ayus prat t\bar{r}$ -, see GEIB 1975 (cf. also PS 15.6.6d, 7b, 8d, 15.12.10d). As regards the syntactic uses of this formula, Geib quotes "die einmal im RV belegte nominale Wendung der Formel: 10, 100, 5b  $b\dot{r}$  haspate pratarītāsi ayusah", and adds very pertinently that "in dieser nominale Konstruktion vertritt der Gen. ayusah das direkte Objekt der Handlung. Die nominale Konstruktion setz also eine verbale voraus, in welcher ayus als direktes Objekt der Handlung erscheint". Geib's research being restricted to the RV, he makes no mention of the nominal construction with pratáraṇa-, which is found only from the AV onwards. The context is however the same, and the expression ayuso 'si pratáraṇa- can be considered synonymous with pratarītāsi ayusah. Cf. also the compound ayusprataraṇa-, which at SS 4.10.4d = PS 4.25.6d refers to an amulet and is another example of a nominal construction of the verbal formula ayusprat xayuspratarana-.

**b**. All the ŚS and PS manuscripts (and also the commentary to the ŚS) read unanimously vipram bhesajam. Surprisingly enough, R-W emended the transmitted text to viśvábhesajam, and the translations based on this edition run as follows: GRIFFITH 1895-6: 300 'universal Cure', WHITNEY 1905: 966 'all-healing'. SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236, following the edition of Viśva Bandhu, who mantains the texts of the manuscripts, translate 'il saggio rimedio'. Although it is true that the compound viśvábhesaja- is often referred to amulets, medicinal plants, ointments and other remedies (cf. e.g. RV 1.23.20d, 10.60.12c = ŚS 4.13.6c, 10.137.3c  $\approx$  \$\$ 4.13.3c, \$\$ 2.4.3c, 4.10.3c, 6.52.3c, 6.136.3c, 8.7.26c, 10.3.3a, 19.35.5c, 19.39.5c, 8c, 9c), there is absolutely no need to change the text of the manuscripts, because vípra- fits perfectly the context here and has indeed a pregnant meaning. GONDA 1936: 36 ff. states that vípra-, "indicating inspired speech and the man who utters it, [...] may originally have denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and 'enthusiastic' seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the emotional and vibrating, metrical sacred words, a seer who converted his inspiration into powerful 'carmina'". He quotes RV 10.97.6cd (= KapKS 25.4:97.10 = PS 11.6.9cd  $\approx$  KS 16.13:235.20  $\approx$  MS 2.7.13:93.12) víprah sá ucyate bhiság [MS kaví] raksohámīvacátanah 'that viprah is called a physician, a killer of demoniac powers, one who drives away diseases', adding, "From these words it may appear that the medicine-man could also be a *viprah*. Since medicine-men usually employ formulas, there is a chance that this functionary owes the designation vipra- to these". Since the Rgvedic and Atharvavedic passages share nearly the same wording (see also rakṣohāmīvacātanam in the seventh stanza of this hymn) and appear to be strictly connected on each other, it is even possible that the Ur-AV had the reading vipram bhisajam 'a seer, a physician'.

c. The term  $\dot{a}\tilde{n}jana$ - denotes a particular type of ointment, an eye-lotion or collyrium applied to the eyelide, and generally used as a cosmetic or — as appears to be the case here — as a medicine (see MEULENBELD 1974: 438-439). As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the stanza 4.5 points to four different uses of the ointment (it could be used as eye-lotion, put in an amulet and taken both externally and perorally), so that in this hymn  $\frac{\dot{a}\tilde{n}jana}{a}$  should be understood in a more general sense. This pada is identical in the SS tradition. Griffith and Whitney translated it, respectively, 'Then, Ointment! send felicity' and 'So, o Ointment, do thou [make] wealfulness', with the emendation of śamtāte (the reading of all the ŚS manuscripts, of the pādapatha and of the commentary) to śamtātim. I believe that the text can stand as it was transmitted both in the SS and in the PS (the confusion between -s- and -s- in the Orissa manuscripts is common) and I connect śamtāte (vocative masculine) with āñjana (vocative neuter). For the termination of the vocative singular neuter of -i stems (which fluctuates between the form of vocative masculine -e and the form of nominative-accusative neuter -i), cf. AiGr. III, § 77, pp. 157–58. See also SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236 with the translation 'Perciò tu, o unguento benefico...'. On śamtāti-, see RENOU 1960: 10–11 with note 1, where the vocative singular satyatāte (a hapax), used in RV 4.4.14c as an epithet of Agni, is quoted as an example of the emergence of an adjectival meaning.

d. The PS version of this pāda is no doubt the original one and offers the first evidence that this hymn was borrowed in the ŚS from here. The ŚS manuscripts read śám ắpo ábhayam kṛtám, 'The waters are a blessing; fearlessness is made [by them]", which is semantically awkward and has therefore forced the editors to various emendations. W-R emended kṛtám to kṛta and and translated 'Make, O ye waters, weal [and] fearlessness', SPP "is satisfied with emending to kṛtam, as if āñjana and āpas could somehow be construed together as a dual subject" (WHITNEY 1905: 966). The origin of the corrupt reading of the ŚS was probably the misunderstanding of the word m ayobhava- 'enjoiment, refreshment, soothing', of which this is the earliest Vedic attestation and which otherwise appears only in TB 3.7.7.11 catv arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular arim ayobhava 'four [steps] for enjoiment' (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular ayobhava (steps) for enjoiment' (steps) for enjoiment' (steps) for enjoiment' (steps) for enjoiment' (steps) for enjoim

# **15.3.2** [Anustubh] ŚS 19.44.2

yo harimā jāyān <sub>i</sub> yo	*#A
angabhedo visalpakaḥ	A
sarvam te yakṣmam aṅgebhyo	+#A
bahir nir hant <sub>u</sub> v āñjanam	A

Whether [it be] the jaundice, the  $j\bar{a}y\bar{a}nya$ , the limb-splitter, the *visalpaka*: let the ointment expel all the *yakṣma* out of your limbs.

jāyānyo] **Or**, jāyāmyo **K** aṅgabhedo] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ṅgabhedo **RM K** visalpakaḥ] **Or**, viśalyakaḥ **K** sarvaṁ] **K**, sarvam **Or** yakṣmam] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ya{smā}kṣmam **Pa** bahir nir hamtv āṅjanam] bahir nir hamtv āṅjanam | **Ku Pa** [**Ma**], barhir nir hamtv āṅja{ja}nam | **JM**, barhir nir hamtv āṅjanam | **RM**, bahir nih amtv āṅjanam | **Mā**, barhir nir harhantv āṅjanam Z 2 Z **K** [[Barret barhirnirhantvāṅjanam]]

ŚS 19.44.2

yó harimá jāyányo 'ngabhedó visálpakaḥ | sárvam te yáksmam ángebhyo bahír nír hantv áñjanam ||

**ab**. For a description and discussion of the diseases mentioned in this stanza, see SCHNEIDER 2010: 255 ff., ZYSK 1985: 18–19, 29–32, 137. For some important remarks on the word *visálpaka*- and the variant of **K** *viśalyaka*-, see KULIKOV forthc. Whatever be the etymology of *visálpaka*-, it is still not clear if *aṅga-bhedá*- 'limb-splitter' refers to "a breaking apart of the limbs or cutting pain in the entire body, brought about by the disease-demon *yákṣma*" (ZYSK 1985: 163) or if it could be interpreted as an epithet of *visálpaka*- (thus SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236 'Il *visalpaka* che spezza le membra'). At any rate, it is noteworthy that this compound is attested close to the word *visálpaka*- also at ŚS 9.8.5ab *aṅgabhedám aṅgajvarám viśvāṅgyàṁ visálpakam* 'Limb-splitter, causing fever in the limbs, the *visalpaka* affecting all the limbs'.

# 15.3.3 [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.44.3

āñjanam pṛthivyām jātam	#A
bhadram puruṣajīvanam	A
kṛṇotuv *apramāyukaṁ	*A
rathajūtim anāgasam	A

The ointment born upon the earth, auspicious, giving life to men — let it make [you] non-dying-prematurely, swift like a chariot, sinless.

puruṣajīvanam] puṛṣajīvanam **Or**, puruṣājīvanam **K** kṛṇotv \*apramāyukam] kṛṇotv atpramāỳukam **Ku JM RM**, kṛṇotv atpramāỳakam **Pa Mā** [**Ma**], kṛṇotutpramāhikam **K** rathajūtim] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, rathayutim **RM**, rathajūtam **K** anāgasam] anāgasam **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], **RM**, anāṣasam **Pa**, anākam **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

### ŚS 19.44.3

áñjanam pṛthivyām jātám bhadrám puruṣajīvanam | kṛṇótv ápramāyukam ráthajūtim ánāgasam ||

# Bhattacharya edits <u>atpramāyakam</u> in **c**.

- a. Cf. ŚS 4.9.6ab, referring to the same ointment: yád ắñjanaṁ traikakudám jātáṁ himávatas pári 'which ointment, coming from the three-peaked [mountain], was born from the snowy [mountain]'. Reference is made to the soil where the plant used to make the ointment grows. Cf. 15.3.6 below. On the possible botanical identification of the plant used for preparing the Traikakuda ointment, see KULIKOV forthc.
- c. As regards \*apramāyukam, I emend the text according to the ŚS. The PS tradition seems here to perseverate an ancient mistake of \*G, consisting in the repetition of the -t- in the sequence -tva tpra-. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., (á)pramāyuka- is derived from the compound verb prá-mī- 'die prematurely', and should therefore translated as 'non-dying-prematurely', rather than as simply 'unperishing' as in Whitney's translation. He very pertinently argues that "this interpretation perfectly agrees with the qualification of the ointment as the remedy which enables to reach the established life-time in 1a". This stanza could have been pronounced by the officiant or by the patient: I prefer the first hypothesis and add the understood object 'you', which can be inferred from the previous stanza.

**d**. The compound *ráthajūti*-, which occurs only in these two parallel passages, has been interpreted as an adjective meaning 'driving swiftly in a chariot', 'swift like a chariot' (GRIFFITH 1895–6: 300, WHITNEY 1905: 967, SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236) or as a proper name or honorific title (pw V, 166, SPARREBOOM 1985: 139). I believe that a literal translation 'having the speed of a chariot' (i.e. 'swift like a chariot') fits perfectly the context of the hymn, which aims to free a patient from various diseases that weaken the limbs (see the previous stanza) and from the snares of Nirṛti (see next stanza): the wish to be swift and unrestrained, like a chariot rushing along in an open space, sounds natural and needs no further explanation.

Whitney's translation of  $\acute{a}n\bar{a}gasa$ - 'free from offense' is not precise. On the meaning of this word, see the concise but telling remark of AMBROSINI 1981: 48 fn. 10. Translating "libero da offesa e errore", he suggests that this term, "deve intendersi non sono in senso centripeto (libero dalle offese degli altri) ma anche centrifugo (libero dall'errore proprio)". The concept of  $\acute{a}gas$ -has been treated in detail by BODEWITZ 2006, who shows that " $\acute{a}gas$ - predominantly denotes a committed sin, only in a few instances its consequences [...]. If this  $\acute{a}gas$ - may sometimes make the impression of being some sort of disease or pollution, it is only pollution by sin". See my comment under 3.8b and 3.9ab below.

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15.3.4 [Prose] ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10, cf. PS 19.42.6a

prāṇa prāṇaṁ trāyasva-
-aso asave mṛḍa |

nirṛte nirṛtyā nah pāśebhyo muñca ||

P
```

O breath, preserve the breath; O life-breath, be merciful to life-breath; O Nirrti, release us from the bonds of Nirrti.

prāṇa] **Ku Pa** [**Ma**] **K**, prāṇaṁ **JM RM? Mā** trāyasvāso asave] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], trāyasvāso asa $\{\cdot\}$ ve **Pa**, trāyasva asavosave **K** mṛḍa] **Or**, mṛḷa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

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ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10 prấṇa prāṇám trāyasvāso ásave mṛḍa | nírṛte nírṛtyā naḥ pấśebhyo muñca ||
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As already noticed by Lanman (in WHITNEY 1905: 966), this stanza is quoted in KauśS 47.16, where it is used, together with two other stanzas (found at PS 19.42.4–5), to accompany the taking of a staff (danda-) by the officiant in a witchcraft ceremony. The fact that this mantra is quoted in full ( $sakalap\bar{a}thena$ ) was already interpreted by Lanman as a conclusive evidence that book 19 of the ŚS was not recognized by the KauśS, whose source must have been, in the case of this mantra, the PS (see also BLOOMFIELD 1890: XL and 1899: 34 f.). As pointed out by GONDA 1977: 79 [= 1991: 368], the mantra at KauśS 47.16 is taken from PS 19.42.4–6, where  $pr\bar{a}na$   $pr\bar{a}na$  ity  $ek\bar{a}$ , the typical device of mantra abbreviation (the pratīka plus ity  $ek\bar{a}$ ), no doubt refers to PS 15.3.4. See also GRIFFITHS 2004b: 68.

ab. On prắṇa- and ásu-, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. PS 15.4.6–10b. For cd, cf. PS 15.4.5cd.
c. Cf. ŚS 1.31.2cd = PS 1.22.2cd té no nírṛtyāḥ pắśebhyo muñcátắmhaso amhasaḥ 'So (O gods), release us from bonds of Nirṛti, from every distress'. There are many variants to express the idea 'let s.o. free from the bonds of s.o.': see e.g. RV 1.24.13d vidvắm ádabdho ví mumoktu pắśān 'Let the wise one, uninjurable, loosen the bonds', 5.2.7c evắsmád agne ví mumugdhi

 $p\acute{a}\acute{s}\bar{a}n$  'So, O Agni, loosen from us the bonds', 6.74.4c  $pr\acute{a}$  no muñcatam váruṇasya  $p\acute{a}\acute{s}\bar{a}d$  'Release us from the bonds of Varuṇa', 7.59.8c  $druh\acute{a}h$   $p\acute{a}\acute{s}\bar{a}n$   $pr\acute{a}ti$   $s\acute{a}$   $muc\bar{i}sta$  'May he put on himself the bonds of injury', 7.88.7b vy  $asm\acute{a}t$   $p\acute{a}\acute{s}am$  váruṇo mumocat 'Varuṇa will loosen from us the bond', 10.85.24a  $pr\acute{a}$   $tv\bar{a}$   $mu\bar{n}c\bar{a}mi$  váruṇasya  $p\acute{a}\acute{s}\bar{a}d$  'I do release you from the bonds of Varuṇa', ŚS  $9.3.24a \approx PS$  16.41.2a  $m\acute{a}$  nah  $p\acute{a}\acute{s}am$  (PS  $p\bar{a}\acute{s}\bar{a}n$ )  $pr\acute{a}ti$  muco 'Do not put on us the bond(s)' etc.

# **15.3.5** [**Prose**] ŚS 19.44.5, c: PS 1.80.5b

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sindhor garbho (')si P
vidyutām puṣpam | P
vātaḥ prāṇaḥ sūryaś cakṣur divas payaḥ || P
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You are the embryo of the river, the flower of the lightning bolts; [your] breath [is] the wind, [your] eye [is] the sun, [your] juice [is] from the sky.

sindhor] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, sindho **Mā** vidyutām] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vidyutā **Mā** vātaḥ] **Or**, vātaḥ **K** prāṇaḥ] **Or**, prāṇa **K** ||] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K** 

ŚS 19.44.5 síndhor gárbho 'si vidyútām púṣpam | vắtaḥ prāṇáḥ súryaś cákṣur divás páyaḥ ||

- **a**. The expression 'embryo of the river' is not clear. KULIKOV forthc. proposes the identification of *sindhu* with the river Sindh (Indus), which springs from the Himalayas; this would suggest that the ointment is here addressed as made of a plant wich grows on Indus' banks (see also BLOOMFIELD 1896: 405). Cf. also PS 7.12.4ab *na saindhavasya puṣpasya sūryo mlāpayati tvacam* 'The sun does not cause the skin of the flower from Sindhu to wither'.
- **c**. According to the word-order of the member in a nominal phrase, the first member refers to the predicate, while the second is the subject. This tendency, which became standard in Vedic prose, was neglected in Whitney's translation "the wind [thy] breath, the sun [thine] eye, from the sky [thy] milk".

On the identification of the ointment with the eye, see KULIKOV forthc., with the discussion of ŚB 3.1.3.12, where "Traikakuda appears [...] in the context of a legend that connects its origin with the eye (or pupil) of Vrtra which flew off and became the ointment (collyrium) or the mountain Trikakud itself".

The associations between surya- and caksus- and between prana- or atman- and vata or vaya- are common: cf. e.g. RV 10.16.3a suryam caksur gachatu vatam atma 'Let [your] eye go to the Sun, [your] vital breath to the wind', ŚS 5.9.7 suryo me caksur vatah prana 'My eye [is] the sun, my breath [is] the wind', ŚS 8.2.3ab  $\approx$  PS 16.3.3ab vatat te prana avidam suryat caksur aham tava 'From the wind I found your breath, from the sun [I found] your eye", ŚS 11.8.31ab = PS 16.88.2ab suryat caksur vatah prana uvatat uvatat

rájaso visárjane 'As the Sun's eye at the end of the darkness', 10.90.13b cákṣoḥ sū́ryo ajāyata 'From [his] eye the Sun was born' and 13d prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata 'From [his] breath the wind was born', ŚS 5.24.9a sū́ryaś cákṣuṣām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu 'Surya is the overlord of the eyes/sights; let him help me".

Note that **K** does not mark the end of this stanza, so that the progressive numbering of stanzas 5–7 is altered (see the critical apparatus below).

# **15.3.6** [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.44.6, $b \approx ŚS$ 2.4.2d = ŚS 2.7.3d, cd: PS 1.100.1cd

devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ	#A
pari mā pāhi viśvataḥ	A
na tvā taranty oṣadhayo	#A
bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta	#A

O heavenly ointment coming from the three-peaked [mountain], protect me on every side. The herbs from abroad and from the mountains do not surpass you.

devāñjanam traikakudam] **Or**, devāmjani trīkakuda **K** taranty] **JM**, taramty **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, caranty **K** oṣadhayo] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, oṣadh{e}aẏo **Pa** parvatīyā] **Or**, parvatyā **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

ŚS 19.44.6 dévāñjana tráikakuda pári mā pāhi viśvátaḥ | ná tvā taranty óṣadhayo bấhyāḥ parvatíyā utá ||

PS 1.100.1cd na tvā taranty oṣadhayo bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta ||

Bhattacharya edits devāñjanam traikakudam in a.

- **a**. All the ŚS manuscripts read  $dev\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana\dot{m}$   $traikakuda\dot{m}$ , too. W-R emended the transmitted text to  $d\acute{e}v\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$   $tr\acute{a}ikakuda$ , remarking that these must be indisputably two vocatives. The emendation was probably suggested by the repeated use of the vocative  $\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$  in ŚS 4.9.3–7 and 10, a hymn addressed to the Traikakuda ointment as well (ŚS 4.9  $\approx$  PS 8.3); the same form is found also in this same hymn, at 3.1c and 3.10b. Such emendation can indeed be avoided, since  $dev\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana\dot{m}$   $traikakuda\dot{m}$  could function as a vocative, according to the tendency of neuter nouns to use the nominative/accusative form also for the vocative (see AiGr III, § 17, p. 44; in § 46, p. 97, by contrast, both  $d\acute{e}v\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$  and  $tr\acute{a}ikakuda$  of ŚS 19.44.6a are quoted as "uncertain" examples of vocative neuter in -a).
- **cd**. Here and at PS 1.100.1c, **K** reads  $tv\bar{a}$  caranty oṣadhayo and Barret analysed the verb as  $\bar{a} + car$ , which could also be a good reading. With these pādas, cf. also ŚS 19.34.7ab  $\approx$  PS 11.3.7ab  $n\acute{a}$   $tv\bar{a}$   $p\'{u}rv\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}$ ṣadhayo  $n\acute{a}$   $tv\bar{a}$  taranti  $y\'{a}$   $n\acute{a}v\bar{a}h$  (**Or** tarantu, **K** caranty, for which see above) 'Neither the ancient herbs surpass you, nor the recent ones' and PS 7.12.2cd na  $tv\bar{a}$  sapatnī sāsāha gaireyī ca na  $b\bar{a}hy\bar{a}$  'No rival from the mountains overpowers you, none from abroad either'. Note the unusual metrical pattern of pāda **c**, withouth the syllabic resolution of the semivowel (cf. also pāda 8a below).

**15.3.7** [Anuştubh]  $\approx$  ŚS 19.44.7, b: cf.  $\mbox{RV}$  10.97.6d, ŚS 1.28.1b, PS 7.5.8b, 10.1.12b, 11.6.9d,  $\mbox{c} \approx$  ŚS 19.34.9c

```
vīdam madhyam *avāsrpad A
rakṣohāmīvacātanam | A
amīvāḥ sarvāś cātayan #A
nāśayad abhibhā itaḥ || A
```

This [ointment], a demon-slayer remover of afflictions, crept down in the middle, frightening away the diseases, driving away from here inauspicious omens.

vīdam] **Or**, vīram **K** \*avāsrpad] avāsrjad **Or K** rakṣohāmīvacātanam] **K**, rakṣohāmīvacātanam **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, rakṣyohāmīvacātanam **Ma** amīvām] **Or**, amīva **K** cātayam] **Or**, cātayam **K** nāśayad] **Or**, nāśayat **K** abhibhā **Or**, apivā **K** itam] **Or**, hitā **K** || | | **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

ŚS 19.44.7

vìdám mádhyam ávāsrpad raksohámīvacátanaḥ | ámīvāḥ sárvāś cātáyan nāśáyad abhibhá itáḥ ||

RV 10.97.6cd

víprah sá ucyate bhiság raksohámīvacátanah ||

Bhattacharya edits *rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ* in **b**.

- a. The emendation of the reading of all PS manuscripts avāsṛjad to \*avāsṛpad is suggested both by the meaning and the tense of the verb (the first form is an imperfect from sṛj-, the second one an aorist from sṛp-). The verb sṛj- means in the active 'throw, emit', in the middle 'to speed, run, hasten, release', but these meanings do not fit the context of our stanza. Furthermore the imperfect, which is usually employed as the past tense of narration without any relation to the present, is stylistically out of place here, while the aorist, which expresses that an action has occurred in the past with reference to the present, is much better. The ointment, having being applied to the patient and spread through his body, has carried out its beneficial action. KULIKOV forthc. wonders if madhyam 'into the middle' could possibly refers to the nidus of the disease, which seems a very attractive idea.
- **b.** The reading *rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ* is in all the ŚS manuscripts, too. Whitney, in his comment, notes, "The change to masculine here in **b** is obscure and questionable; emendation to *-cātanaṁ* is desirable; it would allow *idám* to be understood as 'this [ointment]', which is easier and more natural". He adds that the reading of **K** *rakṣohāmīvacātanaṁ* would give the emendation sufficient support, so I decide to adopt it. Lanman has then posed the problem of how to emend *rakṣohá*, to make a corresponding neuter of it. He suggests to think of an unattested neuter form *rakṣohá* concealed in the combination *-hámīva-*, but there is no need to think of such a form, because in the RV the nominative singular masculine of compounds with root *han-* as final member can be used as neuter (cf. AiGr. III, § 130, p. 238). Cf. e.g. RV 7.8.6cd, where *rakṣohá* is found at the end of a series of three coordinated adjectives (one of which is *amīvacātanaṁ* rakṣohá '(This speech) which [being] splendid, frightening away the diseases, demon-slayer will be auspicious for the praising ones and the ally'.

**d**. The word  $abhibh\dot{a}$ - (on which see EWAia II, 259) means literally 'light/appearance which shines against', therefore 'inauspicious omen'. In the context of this hymn, it could possibily be related to the nightmare (dusvapnya-) mentioned at 15.4.2.

# **15.3.8** [**Anuṣṭubh**] ŚS 19.44.8, cd: PS 15.3.9cd

bahv idam rājan varuņa-	#A
-anṛtam āha pūruṣaḥ	A
tasmāt sahasravīr <sub>i</sub> ya	*A
muñca naḥ pariy aṁhasaḥ	*A

Man speaks untruth here often, O king Varuṇa. Free us from this sin, O you having a thousand powers!

bahvidam] **Ku RM Pa Mā K**, bahvīdam **JM**, bihvidam [**Ma**] varuṇānṛtam] **K**, vaṛṇānṛtam **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vaṛṇanṛtam **JM** pūruṣaḥ] pūṛṣaḥ **RM**, puṛṣaḥ **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, puruṣaḥ **K** tasmāt] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, tasmā [**Mā**] ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 19.44.8

bahv ìdám rājan varuṇānrtam āha pū́ruṣaḥ l tásmāt sahasravīrya muñcá naḥ páry ámhasaḥ ||

- **a**. The word ánṛta- provides, together with the first two pādas of the next stanza, a possible explanation for the use of ánāgasa- in 3.3d: the sin committed by the patient would consist in perjury. Cf. ŚS 4.9.7ab = PS 8.3.13ab idám vidvắn āñjana satyám vakṣyāmi nắnṛtam 'Knowing this, O ointment, I shall speak truth, not untruth'.
- b. An interesting question is whether in this stanza pū́ruṣa- refers to the patient or to an impersonal man, that is to mankind in general. I incline to the second hypothesis, as the entire sentences, asserting a general statement, seems to have a gnomic character. There are other examples of the word used without reference to a specific man, cf. ŚS 5.5.2ab yás tvā píbati jīvati trāyase pūruṣam tvām 'Who drinks you stays alive, you rescue the man', 5.7.8 utá nagnā bōbhuvatī svapnayā sacase jānam ārāte cittām vīrtsanty ākūtim pūruṣasya ca 'And constantly becoming naked, you follow a person in dreams, O Arāti, baffling the intention and the wish of a man', 7.76.4ab pakṣī jāyānyaḥ patati sá ā viśati pūruṣam 'Having wings, the jāyānya flies; as such, she enters into a man', 8.2.25 sārvo vāi tātra jīvati gāur āśvaḥ pūruṣaḥ paśūḥ yātredām brāhma kriyāte paridhír jīvanāya kām 'Every one, verily cow, horse, man, cattle lives there where this formula is performed, a protection for living', 12.4.13cd hímste ādattā pūruṣam yācitām ca nā dītsati '[The cow], not given, harms a man, when he does not want to give her when asked for'.
- **d**. For a semantic study of the word  $\acute{amhas}$  in Vedic, see Gonda 1957b. In this passage,  $\acute{amhas}$  seems to be identical to  $\acute{anrta}$ -. Cf. ŚS 10.5.22  $\approx$  PS 9.22.4 ( $\approx$  PS 16.130.1) <code-block>  $y\acute{ad}$   $arv\bar{a}c\dot{n}$ am  $traih\bar{a}yan\dot{a}d$   $\acute{anrtam}$   $k\acute{im}$   $codim\acute{a}$  |  $\acute{a}po$   $m\bar{a}$   $t\acute{a}sm\bar{a}t$   $s\acute{a}rvasm\bar{a}d$   $durit\dot{a}t$   $p\bar{a}ntv$   $\acute{a}mhasa\dot{n}$  'Whatever untruth we have said since a three years' period, may the water protect me from that difficulty, form [that] sin'. See also RODHE 1946: 43. His translation of  $\acute{anrta}$  as 'evil' does not convince at all, and his statement that "there does not seem to be more than one single passage in the Veda [vz. ŚS 19.44.8], where decisively committed evil is indicated by this word [vz.  $\acute{amhas}$ ]" is no doubt an exaggeration (cf. the parallel passages quoted above).</code>

**15.3.9** [**Anuştubh**] ŚS 19.44.9, ab: ŚS 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce, VS 20.18 ≈ TS 1.3.11.1, MS 1.2.18:28.5, KS 3.8:27.2 etc., cd: PS 15.3.8cd

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yad āpo aghn<sub>i</sub>yā iti *A
varuņeti yad ūcima | A
tasmāt sahasravīr<sub>i</sub>ya *A
muñca naḥ par<sub>i</sub>y amhasaḥ || *A
```

If we have said '(excellent) cows are the waters', if 'O Varuṇa': free us from this sin, O you having a thousand powers!

aghnyā iti] Or, ghnyāyati K varuņeti] varneti Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, varneci JM, varuņena K ūcima] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, ūcimaḥ JM tasmāt] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, ta·Mā naḥ] Or, naḥ K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 9 Z K

ŚS 19.44.9 yád ấpo aghnyấ íti váruṇéti yád ūcimá l tásmāt sahasravīrya muñcá naḥ páry áṁhasaḥ ||

ŚS 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce ≈ VS 20.18 yád ấpo aghnyấ íti váruņéti yád ūcimá l táto varuna muñca nah ||

TS  $1.3.11.1 \approx$  MS  $1.2.18:28.5 \approx$  KS 3.8:27.2 yád ấpo ághniyā váruņéti śápāmahe táto varuṇa no muñca

ab. "That is, if we called these divinities to witness an untruth" (WHITNEY 1905: 968). Here and at ŚS 7.83.2c, Whitney emended  $aghny\dot{a}$ , the reading of all ŚS manuscripts, to  $\acute{aghnya}$ , and translated 'O inviolable [kine]' and 'O inviolable ones'. In his opinion, the emendation is justified by the inconsistency of the accented form  $aghny\dot{a}$ , nominative, with the reading  $v\acute{a}runa$ — which can only be vocative, proving each of its predecessors such— and it is corroborated by the reading  $\acute{aghnya}$  of the Black Yajurvedic texts. The AV translators have generally followed the text thus emended (see recently KULIKOV forthc.). 40 The unaccented text of the PS is of no help to settle the issue, but in a very ingenious analysis of this mantra NARTEN 1971 has convincingly demonstrated that the text of the TS, MS and KS is secondary, and can be considered *lectio facilior* compared to that of ŚS and VS: instead of two metric oath formulas, one in the nominative ( $\acute{a}po~aghny\acute{a}$ ) and one in the vocative (varuna), both independent and separated by iti, the Yajurvedic texts have put together the three words in a syntactic prose unit ( $\acute{a}po~aghnyã$  váruna) closed by iti. This was probably done under the influence of the final vocative varuna: the form  $\acute{a}po$  could have been interpreted as vocative as well, so that just with the swift of the accent on the word  $aghny\acute{a}$  the pattern would have been perfectly consistent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The most striking and inconsistent translation is that of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236, 538. Orlandi translated ŚS 7.83.2cd 'Se abbiamo detto: 'Le acque sono inviolabili', se abbiamo detto: 'O Varuṇa'', which is probably the correct understanding of this passage (see my comment, *passim*) but then she translated ŚS 19.44.9ab in a completely different way — and, in my opinion, wrongly: 'Se abbiamo invocato a sproposito le acque e le mucche,

Moreover, it is likely that at the time of the composition of the Yajurvedic texts the oath was not understood anymore. In its original form, with the nominatives  $\acute{a}po~aghny\acute{a}$ , the mantra is to be understood as a nominal sentence with zero copula ('Erlesene Kühe sind die Wasser'). Narten has proposed also another option, which is very attractive, though it can not be proved: on account of the presence of iti, the nominatives  $\acute{a}po~aghny\acute{a}$  could be interpreted as pratika of an old, unattested mantra pronounced during oaths. In a rather speculative, but fascinating way, with the help of parallel texts of similar content she reconstructed this hypotetic mantra as \* $\acute{a}po~aghny\acute{a}$   $ih\acute{a}$   $m\acute{a}m$  avantu\*: 'Die Wasser, die erlesene Kühe, sollen mir hier beisthehen', concluding, however, that for the understanding of this stanza it is not relevant whether the words  $\acute{a}po~aghny\acute{a}$  are interpreted as a nominal sentence or as pratika of an unattested mantra; the crucial point — which I tried to observe in my translation — is that  $aghny\acute{a}$ - is not an element of an enumeration as in the later Yajurvedic texts, but it is a predicate, or an apposition, of the word  $\acute{a}po$ . That is to say,  $aghny\acute{a}$ - is a poetic designation of the (divine) Waters.

# **15.3.10** [**Anuṣṭubh**] ŚS 19.44.10

mitraś ca tvā varuņaś ca-	#A
-anupreyatur āñjana	A
tau t <sub>u</sub> vānugatya dūram	+A
bhogāya punar *ohatuḥ	A

Mitra and Varuna have been looking for you, O ointment; the two of them, after following you afar, brought you back for [our] profit.

mitraś] **Or**, mittraś **K** varuṇaś] **K**, varṇaś **Or** cānupreyatur āñjana] **Or**, cānupraidujana **K** tvānugatya] **Or**, tyānakatya **K** punar \*ohatuḥ] punarohatu **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pu··· **Mā** ||] || r 10 || 3 || **Ku JM**, || r | 3 || **RM**, || 3 || r 10 || **Pa Mā** [**Ma**], Z 10 Z kāndah 3 Z **K** 

ŚS 19.44.10 mitráś ca tvā váruṇaś cānupréyatur āñjana | táu tvānugátya dūráṁ bhogấya púnar óhatuḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits punarohatu in **d** (he attributes to  $M\bar{a}$  the reading purohatu, but my reproduction of the manuscript is unclear).

b. Regarding the preverb *pra*-, KULIKOV forthc. observes, "In this context, the preverb *prá* might have an additional directional meaning, 'go eastward', which is also found in some of its derivatives, such as *práñc*- 'directed forwards; turned eastward', *prācīna*- 'turned towards the front, eastward'. Given the assumption that the Traikakuda ointment was brought from the mountain Trikakud (modern Trikuta) in the Western Himalayas, the journey of Mitra and Varuṇa should have started to the west of this area — that is, in the Sindhu (Indus) valley (Northern Pakistan), where early Vedic Aryans lived indeed around 1000 BC". The greatest difficulty of this hypothesis is that the directional meaning 'eastward' — which of course is secondary even in the derivatives mentioned above — is never found when *prá*- functions as preverb. The only instance in which this meaning can be feebly traced is a Rgvedic passage (1.103.4c) describing Indra advancing victoriously over the Dāsyus, the enemies who opposed the Aryans during their advance toward the East: *upaprayán dasyuhátyāya vajrī* 'The one holding the cudgel, rushing upon to strike the Dasyus'. Assuming that *upa-pre*- has here an

additional directional meaning seems indeed a strained interpretation, and there is no need to force the meaning of the verb. Moreover, the other attestations of the verb *anu-pre*- used in this stanza show clearly that a directional shade of meaning is not involved at all: cf., e.g., ŚS 5.7.3cd = PS 7.9.4cd *árātim anuprémo vayám námo astv árātaye* 'We look for Arāti, homage be to Arāti'. For the idea of a medicine brought from afar, cf. PS 20.14.4ab *dūrād etat sam bharantīrṣyāyā nāma bheṣajam* 'From afar they bring together that medicine, namely against jealousy', 20.25.1ab *dūrād bheṣajam ābhṛtam bahūny ati* 'yojanā 'From afar the medicine has been brought, over many *yojanas*'.

**d**. The verb must be dual here (because of tau in pāda **c**) and the best solution seems that of Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who analysed the sequence as  $punah : \bar{a} : \bar{u}hatuh$  (root vah- with  $\bar{a}$ ). For a discussion of this passage, see WHITNEY 1905: 968.

# 15.4. Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment (continued)

# **15.4.1** [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.45.1, c: ŚS 2.7.5c, d: $\approx$ ŚS 2.7.5d = PS 20.18.4d

rṇād rṇam iva sam naya /A
kṛtyām kṛtyākṛto gṛham | A
cakṣurmantrasya durhārdaḥ +#A
pṛṣṭīr api śṛṇāñjana || A

Bring together the sorcery to the sorcerer's house, as [one pays] debt because of [being in] debt. O ointment, crush the ribs of the evil-hearted one, whose formula [is] his glance.

rṇād] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K, rṇāt JM RM saṁ naya] JM RM K, sa{ṁ}nnaya Ku, sannaya Mā [Ma] Pa durhārdaḥ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, durhādaḥ Mā, durhāndaḥ K api] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, apī Mā, apa K śṛṇāñjana Or, dṛṇāñjanam K |||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 1 Z K

# ŚS 19.45.1

rṇấd rṇám iva sám naya krtyấm krtyākrto grhám | cákṣurmantrasya durhấrdaḥ prṣṭrr ápi śrṇāñjana ||

#### ŚS 2.7.5cd

cákşurmantrasya durhárdah prstír ápi srnīmasi ||

**ab**. Note that also PS 4.14.7a (*hastād dhastam*) and 15.23.5a (\**vartrād* \**vartram*) show the same pattern X-ablative + X-accusative. I adopt Kulikov's translation, which is more explicit than Whitney's rendering "as it were debt from debt". Cf. the explanation of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 211 fn. 59: "cioè come chi è debitore porta il pagamento di tale debito a casa del creditore".

On the expression rnam sam  $n\bar{\imath}$ , see also ŚS 19.57.1 ( $\approx$  ŚS 6.46.3) = PS 2.37.2 = PS 3.30.1 yáthā kalām yáthā śaphám yáthā rnám samnáyanti / evā duṣvápnyam sárvam ápriye sám nayāmasi 'Like a sixteenth, like an eight, like a debt they bring together, so do we bring together every nightmare on an enemy'.

As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the reading *sam naya* of the PS is syntactically more appropriate than the readings of the ŚS manuscripts *samnayám*, *sannayám*, which were already emended to *sám naya* in <sup>1</sup>R-W. Whitney's translation of this stanza follows the conjecture *samnáyan*, which was adopted in <sup>2</sup>R-W, but there is no need to unite pādas **ab** and **cd** in a complex sentence; the PS reading is no doubt the original one.

The idea that, through a spell, an act of witchcraft can be sent back to the witchcraft-maker is common in the Atharvaveda (see e.g. ŚS 5.14, 5.31, 10.1 etc); the effectiveness of the counter spell is often emphasized through similes which underline its power and violence: see, e.g., ŚS 5.14.12–13  $\approx$  PS 7.1.4/2.71.5 *iṣvā rjīyaḥ patatu dyávāpṛthivī tám práti | sá tám mṛgám iva gṛhṇātu kṛtyá kṛtyākṛtam púnaḥ || agnír ivaitu pratikūlam anukūlam ivodakám | sukhó rátha iva vartatām kṛtyá kṛtyākṛtam púnaḥ 'O Heaven and Earth, straighter than an arrow let it fly against him. As such, may the witchcraft seize again the witchcraft-maker, like [a hunter seizes his] prey. May it go like fire up-stream, like water down-stream. Like a chariot having good wheel's hollows may the withcraft roll back to the witchcraft-maker', ŚS 6.37.2cd \approx PS 20.18.2cd <i>śaptāram átra no jahi divó vṛkṣám ivāśániḥ* 'Strike the one who curses us here, as a

thunderbolt from heaven [strikes] a tree', ŚS 10.1.14 = PS 16.34.4 krāma nānadatī vinaddhā gardabhīva | kartrn nakṣasvetó nuttā brahmaṇā vīryāvatā 'Step away, constantly making noise, like an unfastened she-ass. Attain your makers, pushed away from here with a powerful formula'. It is noteworthy that in many instances the return of the witchcraft to its maker is compared with the return of (mostly living) beings to a place or person closely associated with them, suggesting that going back to the witchcraft-maker is for witchcraft a natural and ineluctable process: cf. PS 2.71.2 yathā te devy osadhe pratīcīnam phalam krtam | evā tvam krtvane krtyām hastagrhya parā naya 'Just as your fruit, O heavenly herb, is made to point backward, so you must lead the witchchraft [far] away to the one who has made it, having grasped it by the hand', PS 2.71.3ab punah krtyām krtyākrte godhevāvaṭam \*anv ayat (but ZEHNDER 1999: 160 proposes to read krtyā krtyākrtam) 'The witchcraft shall go back to the witchcraft-maker, like a monitor lizard into its hole', ŚS 4.18.2 = PS 5.24.2 yó devāh krtyām kṛtvấ hárād áviduṣo gṛhám | vatsó dhārúr iva mātáram tám pratyág úpa padyatām 'O gods, may [the witchcraft], like a suckling calf to its mother, go back to him who, having made a witchcraft, will bring it to the house of one unknowing [of it]', ŚS 4.18.4cd = PS 5.24.4cd práti sma cakrúse krtyấm priyấm priyấvate hara 'Bring back the witchcraft to the one who has made it, [like] a mistress to her beloved', ŚS 5.14.10 ≈ PS 7.1.8 putrá iva pitáram gacha svajá ivābhísthito daśa / bandhám ivāvakrāmī gacha krtye krtyākrtam púnaḥ 'Go as a son to his father, bite like a viper trampled upon. O witchcraft, go back to the witchcraft-maker, treading down [your] bond', ŚS 10.1.3 = PS 16.35.3 śūdrákrtā rájakrtā stríkrtā brahmábhih krtá | jāyá pátyā nuttéva kartáram bándhv (PS +bandhum) rchatu 'Made by a Śūdra, made by a king, made by a woman, made by Brahmans: as a wife turned away by her husband [goes] to her kin, let it go to its maker', ŚS 10.1.25–26 = PS 16.37.5–6 abhyàktáktā svàramkṛtā sárvam bhárantī duritám párehi | jānīhi kṛtye kartáram duhitéva pitáram svám 'Anointed, well-prepared, bearing all difficulty, go away! Recognize, O witchcraft, your maker, as a daughter her father'. The simile of our stanza is slightly different in character and it seems not immediately clear, but it expresses the same idea of something — in this case, probably money — going back to its owner as it is due. The comparison was probably suggested by passages like RV 8.47.17ad  $\approx \text{ŚS } 6.46.3 \approx 19.57.1 = \text{PS } 2.37.3 \ (= \text{PS } 3.30.1, 19.46.11)$  yáthā kalām yáthā saphám yátha rnám samnáyāmasi | evā dusvápnyam sárvam āptyé sám nayāmasy 'As [we pay] the sixteenth part, as [we pay] the eighth part, as we pay the [whole] debt: thus we bring together every nightmare to  $\bar{A}$ ptya', where the compound verb sam  $n\bar{i}$ - is used in its double meanings of 'bring together/deposit' and 'pay back', which are difficult to render with a single verb in the translation. Compare also the similar expression at ŚS 6.118.2cd = PS 16.50.4cd rnán no ná rnám értsamāno yamásya loké ádhirajjur áyat 'The one having a rope will come to Yama's world, not wishing to obtain from us debt from debt' (Griffith: 'Not urging us to pay the debt we owed him').

c. The compound *cákṣurmantra*- was translated by Withney 'eye-conjurer' and by Bloomfield 'who bewitches with [his] eye'. It is a Bahuvrīhi which literally means 'whose mantra (i.e. magic formula) is the glance', 'having glance as a mantra'; the adjective *durhārd*-qualifies the conjurer's gaze as malignant. See GONDA 1969: 39–40: "The close relation between directed looks and potent formulas may in a way even lead to their interchangeability. The compound *cakṣurmantra*- [...] might indeed have qualified the man whose mantra's (formulas') are in his eyes, that is who can achieve with his eyes those baleful effects which

usually are brought about by incantations". For *cákṣus*- in the sense of '(malignant) glance' cf. PS 20.22.2a *sūryo mā cakṣuṣaḥ pātu* 'Let the Sun protect me from the (malignant) glance'.

Other interpetations are however possible: cáksurmantra- could have denoted a specific mantra pronounced by someone wishing to acquire evil powers in his own eyes, or a mantra intended to injure someone else's eyes. At any rate, though the original meaning of the compound remains doubtful, it is important to connect this word with the practical use of the ointment ( $\hat{a}\tilde{n}jana$ -) addressed in these hymns: even if in this spell  $\hat{a}\tilde{n}jana$ - seems to be used in a more general sense (cf. 15.4.5 below), it primarily indicates a sort of collyrium which was applied around the eyes. Compare also the parallel passage PS 20.18.4cd jihvāślakṣṇasya durhārdaḥ pṛṣṭīr api śṛṇīmasi 'We crush the ribs of the evil-hearted one, smooth-talking, which KUBISCH 2010: 109 interprets as follows: "jihvāślakṣṇa- ist Hapax leg. Ich interpretiere es als Tatpurusa aus jihvā- "Zunge" und ślaksna- "glatt". Gemäß Pān. 2.1.31 steht ein substantivisches Vorderglied in Verbindung mit pūrva-, sadṛśa-, sama-, ūna- und seinen Synonymen, kalaha-, nipuna-, miśra- und ślakṣṇa- im Sinne eines Instrumentals. jihvāślakṣṇabezeichnet also jemanden, der "mit der Zunge" glatt oder sanft ist, der mithin freundlich redet (und aber böse Absichten hat [durhārd-]). Die Übersetzung "glattzüngig" soll also nicht auf eine Deutung als Bahuvrīhi schließen lassen, fängt die Bedeutung m. E. allerdings recht gut ein".

Note that the reading of **K**  $drn\bar{a}\tilde{n}janam$  is also plausible (except for the final nasal): as suggested by PRAUST 2000: 426, the form drna 'break, split open' could even be considered *lectio difficilior* in comparision to srna of the other versions (as regards the preverb, api of **Or** and SS is correct against apa of **K**, but Praust makes no mention of the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and quotes the PS only from **K**).

# **15.4.2** [**Anuştubh**] ŚS 19.45.2, ab: ŚS 19.57.4de

yad asmāsu duṣvapn¡yaṁ	#A
yad goşu yac ca no grhe	A
†amāmagatyasta† <sup>+</sup> durhārd	+A
*apriyaḥ prati muñcatām	A

Let an evil-hearted enemy put on himself the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home ... (?).

duşvapnyam] **Ku RM Mā K**, duḥsvapnyam **JM**, dusvapnyam **[Ma] Pa** yac ca] **Or**, yaśca **K** gṛhe] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, gṛh{am}e **JM** amāmagatyasta] **Ku Mā Pa**, apā(→mā)magatyasta **[Ma]**, amāmagatya **JM**, ama · gatyasta **RM**, māmagatyasya **K** <sup>+</sup>durhārd \*apriyaḥ] durhārdaḥ priya **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**,

durhārdaḥ priỳaḥ RM, durhāndaḥ priya K muñcatām] muñcatām JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, muñ $\{j\}$ catām Ku  $\parallel$   $\parallel$  Ku Mā [Ma] Pa,  $\mid$  JM RM, Z Z X

ŚS 19.45.2

yád asmásu dusvápnyam yád gósu yác ca no grhé lánāmagas tám ca durhárdah priyáh práti muñcatām ||

ŚS 19.57.4d

asmāsu duṣvápnyam yád góṣu yác ca no gṛhé ||

Bhattacharya edits <u>amāmagatyasta</u> durhārdaḥ priya prati muñcatām in **cd**.

- **a**. This is the only place where Bhattacharya edits the word *duṣvápnya* with the spelling ṣv-. For the spelling of this word in the edition, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIX (against LUBOTSKY 2002: 171).
- **cd**. All versions of these pādas are corrupt both in the ŚS and in the PS; see KULIKOV forthc.: 9 for a detailed discussion of the variants of the manuscripts and the solutions proposed by the previous scholars. As regards the metrical flaw (one syllable too many in **c** and too few in **d**), I follow Kulikov's suggestion, consisting in removing the last syllable of pāda **c** to **d**, with minor modifications:  $durh\bar{a}rd$  ' a(h)-priyah. He explains: "The nominative form  $durh\bar{a}rd$  [...] better suits the context than the alleged genitive-ablative  $durh\bar{a}rdah$ , obviously triggered by  $durh\bar{a}rdah$  in the preceding pāda (1c). The first word of d should undoubtedly be read \*apriyah (for priyah in manuscripts), as correctly suggested already by Whitney/Lanman".

I can offer no convincing solution for the beginning of **c**. The most plausible solutions are Kulikov's restoration, based on the reading of the PS,  $^+am\acute{a}$   $^+g\acute{a}ty\bar{a}m$   $^+y\acute{a}t$   $^+t\acute{a}d$  '[that] which is at home [and] on the way', and Lanman's emendation based on ŚS 19.57.5  $an\bar{a}sm\bar{a}k\acute{a}s$   $t\acute{a}d$   $durh\acute{a}rd\acute{o}$  'priyaḥ práti muñcatām' let him who is not of us, the evil-hearted, the unfriendly, put upon himself'. It is important to note that  $an\bar{a}sm\bar{a}kas$  occurs after the same indentical two pādas also at PS 3.30.6 yad  $asm\bar{a}su$   $^+duṣvapnyam$  yad goṣu yac ca no  $g_rhe$  |  $an\bar{a}sm\bar{a}kas$  tad devapīyuḥ piyārum niṣkam iva prati muñcatām 'Let the one who despises the gods, who is not of us, put upon himself, like a mocking breastplate, the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home'. This would perhaps suggest to read  $an\bar{a}sm\bar{a}kas$  also here at the beginning of the verse, so that pādas **cd** would sound \* $an\bar{a}sm\bar{a}kas$  \*tad \* $durh\bar{a}rd$  \*apriyah prati  $muñcat\bar{a}m$  '(Let) the one who is not of us, the evil-hearted enemy put on himself that' (but still this would make pāda **c** heptasyllabic).

Another possible restoration would be  $am\bar{a}makatvam\ ca$  'and the state of not belonging to me', but the meaning would be hard to explain.

Regarding the meaning of the verb *prati-muc*, see SOMMER 1977: 64, and GRIFFITHS 2009: 267 and 332. The expression *duṣvapnyaṁ prati-muc*- occurs also at ŚS 9.2.2ac ≈ PS 16.76.2ac *yan me manaso na priyaṁ na cakṣuṣo yan me hṛdaye nābhinandati | tad †duṣvapnyaṁ prati muñcāmi sapatne* 'What of my mind and sight is not agreeable, what does not please my heart, that nightmare I put on my rival' and PS 20.54.7 *akṣivepaṁ †duṣvapnyaṁ artiṁ puruṣareṣiṇīm | tad asmad aśvinā yuvam apriye prati muñcatam* 'The nightmare which makes the eyes tremble, the pain hurting men; that, O Aśvins, put you two from us upon the unfriendly one'.

# **15.4.3** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] ŚS 19.45.3

apām ūrja +ojaso vāvrdhānam

Ta

agner jātam adhi jātavedasaḥ	J1
caturvīram parvatīyam yad āñjanam	Ja
diśaḥ pradiśaḥ karad ic chivās te	+Tb

Ever growing from the strength of the nourishment of the waters, born from Agni Jātavedas, the ointment of four virtues, coming from the mountains, will make the quarters and the intermediate quarters auspicious to you.

ūrja †ojaso] ūrja ataso **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], {u}ūrja ataso **Pa**, ūrjojaso **K** vāvrdhānam] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, vāvr{t}dhānam **Pa** adhi jātavedasaḥ] **Ku RM** Mā [**Ma**] **Pa K**, abhi jātavesaḥ **JM** parvatīyaṁ] **Or**, parvataṁ **K** yad āñjanaṁ] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yad āñja{·}naṁ **Ku** karad ic chivās te] karad it śivās te || **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ka{ri}(→ra)d it śivās te **Pa**, kraduviśchavāste **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

### ŚS 19.45.3

apām ūrjá ójaso vāvrdhānám agnér jātám ádhi jātávedasaḥ | cáturvīram parvatīyam yád āñjanam dísaḥ pradisaḥ karad íc chivās te ||

Bhattacharya edits apāmūrja ataso vāvrghānam- in a (vāvrghānam- is possibly a misprint).

- **a**. Bhattacharya edits the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, but **K** has a better text, which I adopt with the correct sandhi restored. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the alternative interpretation of  $\bar{u}rjas$  as an ablative coordinate with ojasas, proposed by Whitney in his commentary, "seems to be ruled out by ŚS 18.4.53 [= PS 18.80.10b], where ójas- is construed with the genitive  $\bar{u}rj\acute{a}s$ ":  $\bar{u}rj\acute{o}$  bálam sáha  $\acute{o}jo$  na  $\acute{a}gan$  'The strength, the power, the force of the nourishment have come to us'.
- c. I hesitantly follow Kulikov's translation of the compound *cáturvīra* 'of four virtues', with reference to the four usages of the ointment listed in 5ab below. The problem with this translation is that *vīrá* never means 'virtue' but 'hero', 'eminent/strong man', also in compounds, so that we should understand *cáturvīra* in the sense of \**cáturvīrya*-. Whitney's translation 'four-heroed' is more literal, but unsatisfactory as regards the meaning. Griffith translates once 'strong as four heroes' but in other cases simply renders it as 'Chaturvira', suggesting, maybe correctly, that this Bahuvrīhi is probably used as a proper name of this particular ointment.

# 15.4.4 [Tristubh-Jagatī] $\approx \text{ŚS } 19.45.4$

caturvīram badhyata āñjanam te	+#Ta
sarvā diśo abhayās te bhavantu	Ta
dhruvas tiṣṭhāsi saviteva vāriya	*T/Jb
imā viśo abhi harantu te balim	+#Ja

The ointment of four virtues is bound to you. Let all the quarters be free from danger for you. You will stand firm, being valuable like Savitar. Let these clans pay tribute to you.

badhyata āñjanam te] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, badhyata āñjante **JM**, badhyata āñjana te **RM**, vadhyatāmyajante **K** abhayās] **Or**, bhayās **K** bhavantu] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, bhavanttu **Ku** dhruvas] **K**, dhrvas **Or** tiṣṭhāsi] **K**, tiṣṭhādhi **Or** saviteva vārya] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **RM**, savitev{ā}a vārya **JM**, saviteva vavārya **Pa**, saviteva

vāri K viśo] Or, diśo K abhi harantu] JM RM  $M\bar{a}$  [Ma] Pa, abhi harantu Ku, bhriyantu K  $\parallel$ ] Ku JM  $M\bar{a}$  [Ma] Pa,  $\mid RM$ , Z 4 Z K

ŚS 19.45.4

cáturvīram badhyata āñjanam te sárvā díso ábhayās te bhavantu | dhruvás tiṣṭhāsi savitéva cấrya imấ víso abhí harantu te balím ||

# Bhattacharya edits *tiṣṭhādhi* in **c**.

KULIKOV forthc. discusses the problem of the identification of the addressee of this stanza. In his interpretation, these verses should be addressed to the Traikakuda plant, considered as a royal plant — "king among (medical) herbs" —, which would account for the use of the royal consecration formula *dhruvás tiṣṭha* 'stand firm'. Accordingly, he understands the meaning of pāda **a** as "the ointment is connected with you [scil. the plant] (by descent)", and explains *vārya* as a vocative addressed to the Traikakuda plant. I do not think that this stanza needs such a complicated interpretation. In my opinion it is clear from the use of the formulaic expression *dhruvás tiṣṭha*, the mention of the quarters free from danger and of the tribes bringing the tribute that the king is here addressed by the priest, who is applying the ointment to the king himself; the second person pronoun *te* refers to the king exactly as in pāda **d** of the preceding stanza, pronounced by the priest as well. The connection of pādas **cd** of the preceding stanza with **ab** of this one, which contain almost the same words, confirms that there is no sudden change of the addressee.

c. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts *tiṣṭhādhi* was adopted also by KULIKOV forthc. I prefer the reading of **K** *tiṣṭhāsi* (present subjunctive of the root *sthā*-), which is also in all the ŚS manuscripts (the subjunctive *tiṣṭhāsi* is attested several times in the PS, at 2.10.1d, 16.98.5d, 19.40.3b, 56.16b, 20.40.3c). Furthermore, in the formulaic expression *dhruvás* + *sthā*- 'to stand firm', the verb never occurs with the preverb *adhi* (cf. RV 10.173.1b = PS 19.6.5b, RV 10.173.2c = ŚS 6.87.2c = PS 19.6.6c, PS 1.66.1a). It should be noted that the reading *tiṣṭhādhi* of the Orissa manuscripts cannot be considered a mistake, since a confusion between *-dh*- and *-s*- is very unlikely in Oriya script; it is more likely to be due to perseveration from PS 1.72.3b *ut tisthādhi devanāt*.

If, on the other hand, one admits that  $\mathbf{K}$  was in this case influenced by the SS, the agreement of all the Orissa manuscript would rather suggest to take  $tisth\bar{a}dhi$  as the original PS reading.

At the end of the pāda, the PS has no doubt preserved the original text,  $v\bar{a}rya$ , transmitted also in some of the ŚS manuscripts, which otherwise read  $c\bar{a}rya$ , segmented by the pādapāṭha as ca aryàḥ (the translation of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 212 follows this analysis: 'E tu ti ergerai nobile e saldo come il sole'). Kulikov's interpretation of  $v\bar{a}rya$  as a vocative addressed to the Traikakuda plant can hardly be correct, since the form must be a nominative singular masculine  $(v\bar{a}rya[s],$  in sandhi) connected with the nominative Savitā (note that the variant with initial c-may be a reminiscence of ŚS 13.1.38d  $\approx$  PS 18.18.8d 'háṁ bhūyāsaṁ savitéva cắruḥ 'May I become pleasant, like Savitar').

An identical pāda beginning occurs at PS 1.66.1a *dhruvas tiṣṭha bhuvanasya gopa* 'Stand firm, O guardian of the world'.

**d**. Note that **K** reads  $di\acute{so}$  'the quarters' instead of  $vi\acute{so}$ , which, being in the Orissa manuscripts and also in almost all the  $\acute{S}S$  manuscripts (only one manuscript seems to have  $di\acute{so}$ ), must be the original reading. Supported by the reading of **K**, W-R emend the text to  $di\acute{so}$ , but in his translation WHITNEY 1905: 970 adopt the reading  $vi\acute{so}$  (rendering 'these people')

admitting that "our substitution of *diśas* was hardly called for". The action of paying a tribute to a king (balim (upa/abhi)hr-, for which see GONDA 1966: 46–47) is obviously better ascribed to the members of a tribe than to the quarters. It is true that especially in the AV the quarters became cosmic entities which are often said to pay homage and bestow benefits to a king, but in these cases we always find different expressions: the quarters bow to the king (nam-) at ŚS 5.3.1c = PS 5.4.1c, bow down to the king (samnam-) at PS 10.4.1c, call the king ( $hv\bar{a}$ -) at ŚS 3.4.1c = PS 3.1.1c etc. Interesting is ŚS 3.4.2ab = PS 3.1.2ab, where the tribes and the directions are mentioned together, which may be one of the reasons for the confusion between the two subjects in our passage:  $tv\bar{a}m$   $vi\acute{s}o$   $vrnat\bar{a}m$   $r\bar{a}jy\bar{a}ya$   $tv\bar{a}m$   $im\bar{a}h$  pradiśah pañca devih 'Let the tribes choose you for kingship, you these five divine [intermediate] quarters'. On the relation between the king, the tribes and the directions, see TSUCHIYAMA 2007: 71–75.

# **15.4.5** [Tristubh] ŚS 19.45.5

āṅkṣvaiekam maṇim ekam kṛṇuṣva	*+Ta
<sup>+</sup> snāh <sub>i</sub> y ekena pibai <sub>e</sub> kam eṣām	*+Tb
caturvīram nairrtebhyaś caturbhyo	Ta
grāhyā bandhebhyaḥ pari pātuv asmān	*Tb

Anoint yourself with one [of them], make one [your] amulet, bathe with one, drink one [of them]. Let the ointment of four virtues protect us from the four destructive snares of Grāhī.

āṅkṣvaikaṁ] āṁkṣvaikaṁ **Or**, ākṣakaṁ **K** \*snāhy ekena] snājyekena **Ku RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, snājyekema **JM**, smājyekena [**Mā**], śvāśīkena **K** pibaikam] **Or**, pavīkam **K** caturvīraṁ nairṛtebhyaś] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, caturvīraṁ nairṛtebhyoś [**Mā**], caturṛtebhyaś **K** bandhebhyaḥ] **Or**, bandhebhyaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

### ŚS 19.45.5

ākṣváikam maṇím ékam krṇuṣva snāhy ékenā pibáikam eṣām | cáturvīram nairṛtébhyaś catúrbhyo grā́hyā bandhébhyaḥ pári pātv asmā́n ||

### Bhattacharya edits \*snāhyekena in **b**.

**ab**. The four applications of the ointment mentioned in these two pādas possibly underlie the term  $c\acute{a}turv\bar{\imath}ra$ - 'of four virtues' already found in the previous stanza, and point to a more general sense of the word  $\acute{a}\~njana$ - in this spell. It is clear that the practical use of the Traikakuda plant is not restricted to an eye-lotion in this ritual, and that besides being used as an amulet, the Traikakuda ointment could have been taken both externally and perorally. Note the reading  $\acute{e}ken\'{a}$  of the ŚS; the manuscripts read  $\acute{e}ken\'{a}piv\'{a}ikam$ , analysed by the pādapaṭha in  $\acute{e}kena$ :  $\acute{a}pi$ :  $v\={a}$ :  $\acute{e}kam$ . R-W emended to  $\acute{e}kena$   $pib\acute{a}i$  'kam, while SPP chooses to retain  $\acute{e}ken\'{a}$ , interpreting  $\acute{e}kena$ :  $\acute{a}$ : piba. But as noted by Whitney (1905: 971), the verb  $\={a}$  +  $p\={a}$  does not occur in the AV, and it would be distinctly out of place here. The PS offers the conclusive evidence that the original text is ekena and that the ŚS manuscripts have introduced a secondary and erroneous reading by mistake.

Note that in the reading  $sn\bar{a}hy$  all the Orissa manuscripts show the frequent confusion between -hy- and -iy-.

**d**. Kulikov forthc. points to the fact that "in the context of a hymn addressed to an ointment which is used, in particular, against evil dreams, it is important to note that sleep is described (AVŚ 16.5.1) as one of the sons of Grāhi (closely related to Nirṛti, or destruction)".

# **15.4.6** [Formula] ŚS 19.45.6, bc: PS 15.4.7–10bc

agnir <sup>+</sup> māgneyenāvatu	P
prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe	P
varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūtaye svāhā	P

Let Agni help me with fire, for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

\*māgneyenāvatu] māghnyenāvatu **JM** [**Mā**], māghyenāvatu **Ku** [**Ma**] **Pa**, mā agnināvatu **K** varcasa] varccasa **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, rvarccasa **RM**, varcase **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, || <sup>kā</sup> **Ku**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 19.45.6

agnír māgnínāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe várcasa ójase | téjase svastáye subhūtáye svāhā ||

# Bhattacharya edits *māghnyenāvatu* in **a**.

a. At the beginning of this stanza and of the following four, various divinities are invoked and requested to help through their specific powers; these verses should be pronounced by the king after the ointment has been applied. One would like to have the same pattern in all the stanzas, but the readings of the manuscripts are considerably different. KULIKOV forthc. emends 4.6a to †māgnéyenāvatu and edits mendriyéṇāvatu in 4.7a, sáumyenāvatu in 4.8a and bhágenāvatu in 4.9a, suggesting for the latter an emendation to \*bhāgénā° in analogy with the vṛddhi-derivatives in the preceding verses, in order to get a perfect parallelism. At 4.9 all versions are in accord, and it is quite obvious, since the name of Bhaga means at the same time the god and his power — so that Kulikov's suggestion to edit †bhāgéna seems completely unjustified. At 4.8 all the PS manuscripts agree, reading somyena 'with the power of Soma', while the ŚS has saumyena, the vṛddhi-derivative of the name of the god, which could be a secondary reading. At 4.7 and 4.6 I follow Kulikov's reading. The reading of 4.6 is particularly attractive: Kulikov suggests that the variants of Orissa manuscripts māghnyenāvatu / māghyenāvatu (maybe corrupt due to secondary association with aghnya- 'non-violable, bull', which occurs above at 3.9a) point to the vṛddhi-derivative āgneya- 'belonging/related to Agni'.

**bc**. On  $pr \dot{a}na$ - and  $\dot{a}p\bar{a}na$ -, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. 3.4a above. According to KULIKOV forthc., "the eight favourable things listed here must correspond to the eight cardinal and intermediary directions mentioned in verse 3". Associations of these terms are common in the AV: cf., e.g., ŚS 3.13.5cd  $\approx$  PS 3.4.5cd  $t\bar{t}vr\dot{o}$  ráso madhupýcām aramgamá  $\dot{a}$  mā prānéna sahá várcasā gamet 'May the pungent sap of the honey-mixed ones, ready to help, come to me with breath, with splendour', ŚS 10.5.36cd  $\approx$  16.8.4  $\approx$  PS 10.10.4fg, 6fg *idám ahám āmuṣyāyaṇásyāmúṣyāḥ putrásya várcas téjaḥ prāṇám áyur ní veṣṭayāmi* 'Now I grasp the splendour, the ardour, the breath, the longevity of him, son of N.N. as father, of N.N. as mother', PS 5.22.9ab *punaś cakṣuḥ punaḥ prāṇam punar āyur dehi no jātavedaḥ* 'Again the sight, again the breath, again the [full] life-time give us, O Jātavedas', etc.

# **15.4.7** [Formula] ŚS 19.45.7, bc: PS 15.4.6bc, 8–10bc

indro mendriyenāvatu °°°°

P

Let Indra help me with the power of Indra for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

mendriyeṇāvatu] mendryeṇāvatu  $\parallel^{k\bar{a}}$  **Ku**, mendryeṇāvatu  $\parallel$  **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, mendryeṇāvatu  $\mid$  **RM**, mā indreṇāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcasa ojase tejase svastaye prabhūtaye svāhā Z 7 Z **K** 

# ŚS 19.45.7

índro mendriyéṇāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe várcasa ójase l téjase svastáye subhūtáye svāhā ∥

Bhattacharya edits *mendryeṇāvatu* in **a**.

a. See my comment under 4.6a.

**bc**. The refrain of stanzas 7–9 is written in abbreviated form in all the Orissa manuscripts (for the superscribed sign  $k\bar{a}$  in **Ku**, see Introduction). Only **K** has the full text, without any sign of abbreviation.

# **15.4.8** [Formula] ŚS 19.45.8, bc: PS 15.4.6–7bc, 9–10bc

somo mā somyenāvatu  $\circ \circ \circ \mid$ 

P

Let Soma help me with the power of Soma for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

somyenāvatu] somyenāvatu  $\parallel$   $^{k\bar{a}}$  Ku, somyenāvatu  $\parallel$  JM Mā [Ma] Pa, somyenāvatu  $\mid$  RM, somyenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcase ojase tejase svastaye prabhūtaye svāhā Z 8 Z K

# ŚS 19.45.8

sómo mā sáumyenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe várcasa ójase l téjase svastáye subhūtáye svāhā ||

# **15.4.9** [Formula] ŚS 19.45.9, bc: PS 15.4.6–8bc, 10bc

bhago mā bhagenāvatu °°° |

P

Let Bhaga help me with good fortune for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

bhagenāvatu] bhagenāvatu || **JM RM** [**Ma**], bhagenāvatu · **Ku**, bhagenānāvatu || [**Mā**], bhag{o}enāvatu || **Pa**, bhagenāvatu | prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūtaye svāhā Z 9 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 19.45.9

bhágo ma bhágenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe várcasa ójase l téjase svastáye subhūtáye svāhā ||

In WHITNEY 1905: 969, 972 it is twice erroneously stated that this stanza is wanting in the PS, but it is indeed attested also in **K**. The symbol  $k\bar{a}$  for the abbreviation of repeated words is blurred in **Ku**.

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15.4.10 [Formula] ŚS 19.45.10, bc: PS 15.4.6–9bc maruto mā gaṇair avantu °°° || P
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Let the Maruts help me with [their] troops for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

maruto] **K**, marto **Or** avantu] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, amantu **JM RM** varcasa] **K**, varccasa **Ku JM** [**Ma**], varcca{se}se}sa **Pa**, varccase **RM** [**Mā**] ojase] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ojas(+e) **RM**, oja **JM** subhūtaye] **Or**, suprabhūtaye **K** svāhā || r 10 || 4 || **Ku**, svāhā || r 8 || Z || **JM**, svāhā || r || 4 || **RM**, svāhā || 4 || r 10 **Pa**, [**Mā**], svāhā Z 10 ZZ ZZ ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayaś śakhāyām pañcadaśa[6]h kāṇḍāḥ prathamānuvākaḥ Z Z **K** 

ŚS 19.45.10

marúto mā gaṇáir avantu prāṇáyāpānáyuṣe várcasa ójase téjase  $\mid$  svastáye subhūtáye sváhā  $\mid\mid$ 

a. Cf. PS 5.18.5b *trāyantām maruto gaṇaiḥ* 'Let the Maruts with [their] troops rescue [him]' and PS 6.17.10a *ā yantu maruto gaṇaiḥ* 'Let the Maruts come with [their] troops'.

The manuscript **JM** counts the last stanza of this hymn as eight. Since **JM** actually has ten stanzas, this must be a mistake, which could reflect the original numbering of stanzas, in accord with the norm of eighteen stanzas (10 + 8) per hymn expected by the title of the  $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$ . It is indeed possible that two of the last invocations are secundary, but the number eight could also have been automatically written by the scribe, without reference to the transmitted text.

Note also that the first  $anuv\bar{a}ka$  of  $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$  fifteen here comes to an end. **K** is the only manuscript that marks the  $anuv\bar{a}ka$ -division, writing a full colophon with the  $anuv\bar{a}ka$ -number in words.

# 15.5. The king's investiture

PS 15.5 and 6 comprise a single composition of twenty connected stanzas, split over two hymns (10 + 10). The hymn is composite both in metre and in content; it alternates Triṣṭubh/Jagatī pādas with Anuṣṭubh pādas, and looks like a collection of stanzas taken from different sources and put together in order to be used during a royal ceremony. Textual evidence suggests this kind of ritual context; see, e.g., the occurrence of concepts often connected with a king and royalty: āyus-, prajā-, ojas-, rāyaspoṣa- (and rāyaś ca poṣa-), varcas-, śarmaṇ-, puṣṭi-, rāṣṭra-, kṣatra-, suvīra-, sthira-, as well as expressions describing actions that are typical for a king: pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ, sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ (both occurring twice, at 5.7cd and 6.10cd), bhavā kṛṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u (6.2b), (a)bhūr vāpīnām abhiśastipā u (6.3b), vasūni cārur vibhajāsi (6.3d). The ultimate evidence is offered by the commentary on hymn ŚS 2.13, which for stanzas two and three (= PS 15.6.1–2) quotes AVPariś 4.1 pari dhatteti dvābhyām rājño vastram abhimantrya prayacchet 'Having consecrated the king's garment with the two stanzas [beginning with] pari dhatta, he should give it [to the king]', where these two stanzas are pronounced in the morning by a purohita handing to a king the garment he is to put on.

According to my interpretation, the garment described in this hymn, although not specifically mentioned, is the *tārpya* garment used especially during royal rituals, like the *rājasūya*, the *vājapeya*, the *aśvamedha* and others (see PARPOLA 1985: 44 ff.). The description of the making of the garment (stanzas 15.5.5–6) supports Parpola's idea that "the tārpya garment with its *dhiṣṇya* decorations also stands for the star-speckled heavenly vault and constitutes a means of attaining that heavenly world" (*ibid.* p. 72). The notion of rebirth (stanzas 15.6.7–9), symbolically represented by the change of clothes, is further evidence in favour of the identification of the *tārpya* garment.

The hymn exceeds the norm of 18 stanzas per hymn by two, but it is difficult to identify secondary insertions because of the composite structure of the hymn. The best candidates for later accretions are probably stanza 15.6.4, which is the only one in Gāyatrī metre, and stanzas 5.7 or 6.10, which seem slightly out of place from the point of view of the content and the metre, although there is no conclusive evidence to settle the issue.

The stanzas from 5.8 up to 6.5 were lately grouped together to constitute the hymn ŚS 19.24, which was recited, according to the commentary, "in a *mahāśānti* ceremony called *tvāṣṭrī*, on occasion of the loss (*kṣaya*) of a garment" (WHITNEY 1905: 934).

Phrasal and thematic correspondences with the preceding hymn (3 + 4) are contained throughout: the word  $\bar{a}yus$ -, found in various forms (cf. the compound  $\bar{a}yurd\bar{a}$  in 5.1a,  $\bar{a}yur$  in 5.2a,  $\bar{a}yus$  in 5.3a, 5.9a, 5.10a,  $\bar{a}yuh$  in 5.4a, 6.1b, 6d, 7d, 8d), corresponds with  $\bar{a}yus$ 0 in 3.1a;  $j\bar{a}tavedah$  in 5.2a with  $j\bar{a}tavedash$  in 4.3b; ojah, 5.2b, with ojaso in 4.3a and ojase in 4.6b as well as the refrain of the following stanzas; varcase in 5.3a and varcas[a] in 6.1a with varcasa in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas; madhyam in 5.6b occurs identically in 3.7a, while abhayam in 5.6b corresponds with  $abhay\bar{a}s$  in 4.3b; with svastaye in 6.3a and svasti in 6.7d, compare svastaye in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas;  $\bar{a}ha$  in 6.5c occurs also in 3.8b. Other links are provided by the words prataram in 5.4ab (cf. prataranam in 3.1a),  $s\bar{u}ryo$  in 6.8d (cf.  $s\bar{u}ryas$  in 3.5c) and the verb forms  $har\bar{a}mi$  in 6.9b (cf. harantu in 4.4d) and avantu in 6.9b (cf. avatu in 4.6a and in the refrain of the following stanzas — avantu in 4.10a). Finally, in both hymns the gods Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Savitar and Bhaga are mentioned.

# **15.5.1** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ ŚS 2.13.1, MS 4.12.4:188.8–9 $\approx$ KS 11.13:160.11–12, TS 1.3.14.4 (= TB 1.2.1, TĀ 2.5.1, ĀśvŚS 2.10.4), VSM 35.17, ĀpMP 2.2.1, ŚāṅkhGS 1.25, HirGS 1.3.5

āyurdā deva jarasam pṛṇāno	Tb
ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne	Tb
ghṛtaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ	Ta
piteva putram jarase nayemam	Tb

O god, [you are] one giving longevity, one making old age full; O Agni, [you are] ghee-faced, ghee-backed. Drinking ghee as ambrosia, sweet, coming from the cows, lead this one to old age, as a father his son.

āyurdā] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, ā·rdā Ku pṛṇāno] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], pṛṇ{e}āno Pa, vṛṇāno K ghṛtapṛṣṭho] Or, ghṛtapṛṣṭhau K pibann] JM [Ma] Pa K, pibaṁn Ku RM [Mā] cāru] K, cār Or nayemaṁ] Ku JM Mā RM, nayemaṁ (→ naṁ) Pa, nayenaṁ (→ maṁ) [Ma], nayemaṁ K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 1 Z K

#### ŚS 2.13.1

āyurdā agne jarásam vṛṇānó ghṛtápratīko ghṛtápṛṣṭho agne | ghṛtám pītvā mádhu cāru gávyam pitéva putrān abhí rakṣatād imám ||

### MS 4.12.4:188.8-9

āyurdā deva jarásam vṛṇānó ghṛtápratīko ghṛtáprṣṭho agne | ghṛtám píbann amṛtam cāru gávyam pitéva putrám jaráse \*nayemám ||

### KS 11.13:160.11-12

āyurdā deva jarásam vṛṇānó ghṛtám vásāno ghṛtápṛṣṭho agne | ghṛtám píbann amṛtam cấru gávyam pitéva putrám jaráse nayemám ||

# TS 1.3.14.4 (= TB 1.2.1, TĀ 2.5.1, ĀśvŚS 2.10.4)

āyurdā agne havíşo juṣāṇó ghṛtápratīko ghṛtáyonir edhi | ghṛtám pītvā mádhu cāru gávyam pitéva putram abhí rakṣatād imam ||

#### VSM 35.17

áyuṣmān agne havíṣā vṛdhānáś ghṛtápratīko ghṛtáyonir edhi | ghṛtám pītvấ mádhu cấru gávyaṁ pitéva putrám abhí rakṣatād imān ||

# ĀpMP 2.2.1

āyurdā deva jarásam gṛṇānó ghṛtápratīko ghṛtápṛṣṭho agne | ghṛtám píbann amṛtam cāru gávyam pitéva putrám jaráse nayemám svā́hā ||

a. The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the  $\bar{A}pMP$  in reading deva, while the other texts have agne. I consider the reading  $p_r n\bar{a}no$  of the Orissa manuscripts authentic. The variant  $v_r n\bar{a}no$ , shared by **K**, the  $\dot{S}S$  and the MS, seems to be the  $lectio\ facilior$  and could be — as noted by Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 56) — a misplaced reminiscence of  $\bar{R}V$  10.18.6a =  $\dot{S}S$  12.2.24a  $\dot{a}$   $rohat\dot{a}yur\ jar\dot{a}sa\dot{m}\ v_r n\bar{a}n\dot{a}$  'Rise up, choosing longevity, old age', which also occurs at PS 17.32.5ab  $\bar{a}$   $rohat\bar{a}yur\ jarasa\dot{m}\ p_r n\bar{a}n\dot{a}$ , where **K** again reads  $v_r n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  against the Orissa manuscript (cf. also the reading  $g_r n\bar{a}n\dot{a}s$  at TĀ 6.10.1). The same distribution of these variants

in the PS tradition is found at PS 17.4.7c, where again the Orissa manuscripts read  $p_r n \bar{a} n \bar{a}$  and **K** reads  $v_r n \bar{a} n \bar{a}$ .

For Agni as a bestower of longevity, cf., e.g., PS 2.44.1a  $\bar{a}yurd\bar{a}$  agnih 'Agni [is] the one giving longevity', VS 3.17 = TS  $1.5.5.3 = 1.5.7.4 = \acute{S}B$  2.3.4.19  $\bar{a}yurd\bar{a}$  agne 'si 'O Agni, you are the one giving longevity'.

- **b**. Note that ghee is naturally connected with Agni, but also with the *tārpya* garment (see PARPOLA 1985: 39–40).
- c. The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the ĀpMP, while the other texts have a slightly different pāda: *ghṛtám pītvắ mádhu cắru gávyam* 'Having drunk the ghee, sweet, pleasant, coming from the cows'.
- d. Once again, as in pādas a and c, the PS agrees with the MS (whose reading ma emám must be a mistake for nayemám), the KS and the ĀpMP. The other texts have pitéva putrám (ŚS putrấn) abhí rakṣatād imám 'Protect this one like a father [protects] his son(s)'. It is indeed easier to understand the protective role of a father towards his sons rather than to imagine a father leading a son into old age; in this case, however, one could think that an educational and tutorial role is involved together with the idea of protection. The expression jarase nī- is common in the AV and especially in the PS (note that instead of the verb nī-, the ŚS often has vah-): cf. PS 1.14.2d ta enam svasti jarase nayātha 'So (= as such), you will lead him happily to old age' (nayantu at PS 20.11.5d, vahantu at ŚS 7.53.4d) ≈ ŚS 1.30.2d svasty ènam jaráse vahātha 'Happily you will carry him to old age', PS 1.62.3c indro yathainam jarase nayāty 'So that Indra will lead him to old age', 1.69.4e sa enam jarase nayāt 'As such he will lead him to old age', 20.59.9d tām agne jarase naya 'O Agni, lead that [offspring] to old age', ŚS 3.11.6cd śárīram asyāngāni jaráse vahatam púnaḥ 'You two must carry his body, his limbs to old age again', 6.5.2d jīvātave jaráse naya 'Lead him to life, to old age'.

# **15.5.2** [**Tristubh**] $\approx$ ŚS 2.29.2, d: ŚS 1.10.2d

āāyur asmai dhehi jātavedaḥ	Tb
prajām tvaṣṭar adhi ni dhehiy ojaḥ	*+#Ta
rāyaspoṣaṁ savitar ā suvāsmai	Ta
śatam jīvāti śaradas tavāyam	Tb

Bestow longevity on this one, O Jātavedas. Grant progeny [and] strength, O Tvaṣṭar. Impel great wealth to this one, O Savitar ('impeller'). This one [worshipper] of yours will live a hundred autumns.

jātavedaḥ] Or, jātavedaḥ K tvaṣṭar] Or, tvaṣṭur K dhehy] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, hy RM ojaḥ] K, onaḥ Or savitar] Ku JM RM K, savitā( $\rightarrow$  ta)r [Ma] Pa, savitur Mā suvāsmai] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, ṣu( $\rightarrow$  su)vāsmai Pa jīvāti] Or, jīvātu K tavāyam] Or, tavāyam, K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 2 Z K

# ŚS 2.29.2

áyur asmái dhehi jātavedaḥ prajām tvaṣṭar adhinídhehi asmái | rāyáspóṣam savitar á suvāsmái śatám jīvāti śarádas távāyám ||

Bhattacharya edits *onah* in **b**.

- **a**. This stanza is repeated at PS 19.17.11, where the abbreviation  $\bar{a}yur$  asmai ity  $ek\bar{a}$  refers back to the present stanza.
- **b**. The reading *onaḥ* of **Or** is possibly a graphical mistake, although the confusion between -*na* and -*ja* is not very common in the Orissa manuscripts; there is no doubt that **K** has preserved the authentic reading *ojaḥ*, which I adopt in the text. Instead of *ojaḥ*, the ŚS reads  $asm\acute{a}i$ , which is syntactically difficult, as noted by Whitney (1905: 70, "The construction of a dative with adhi-ni- $dh\bar{a}$  in **b** seems hardly admissible") and could have been introduced here from the preceding pāda. The compound verb  $adhinidh\bar{a}$  is very rare; besides this passage, it occurs at ŚS 6.138.3cd = PS 1.68.4ef  $kur\bar{t}ram$  asya  $ś\bar{t}rṣ\acute{a}ni$   $k\acute{u}mbam$   $c\bar{a}dhinidadhmasi$  'We have put upon his head the  $kur\bar{t}ra$  and the kumba', <sup>41</sup> in which the construction with the locative is more appropriate.
- **c**. Note the frequent play on the name of the god Savitar 'the impeller' and the verb  $(\bar{a})s\bar{u}$ 'impel', from which the name of the god derives. I follow Whitney's translation ('abundance of wealth, O Savitar ("impeller"), do thou impel to him'), trying to keep the association between the two words derived from the same root also in English.
- **d**. The sequence tavāyam, without an explicit subject, is rather unusual and occurs only here and in the identical pāda ŚS 1.10.2d. The sequence of tava plus a form of the pronoun ayám is indeed quite common in the RV, but it is always found with another noun in the nominative connected with the pronoun: cf. RV 1.135.2d távāyám bhāgá āyúşu 'This [is] your share among living beings', 3d távāyám bhāgá rtvíyah 'This [is] your share which is in proper time', 7.32.17cd távāyám vísvah puruhūta pārthivo 'vasyúr nāma bhikṣate 'O much invoked one, every inhabitant of the earth here, wishing for help, implores your name', 7.98.6a távedám vísvam abhítah pasavyàm 'Yours is all this cattle everywhere', 9.66.6a távemé saptá síndhavah 'These seven rivers of yours' etc. Similarly in the AV: cf. ŚS 6.44.1d = PS 20.34.7d tíṣṭhād rógo ayám táva 'May this disease of yours stand firm', ŚS 11.2.11a = PS 16.105.1a urúh kóśo vasudhānas távāyām 'This wide vessel, containing wealth, is yours'. I interpret our passage as having an understood subject 'worshipper', 'devotee'. This is also the interpretation given by Griffith and Bloomfield, who translate, respectively, 'Let this thy servant live a hundred autumns' (both at ŚS 2.29.2d and ŚS 1.10.2d) and 'May this one, who belongs to thee, live a hundred autumns' (thus at ŚS 2.29.2; at 1.10.2d 'This thy (man) shall live a hundred autumns'). Whitney's translations 'May he live a hundred autumns of thee' (2.29.2) or 'A hundred autumns of thee shall this man live' (1.10.2d) are incomprehensible to me.

For a similar construction, cf. RV 10.97.2cd ádhā śatakratvo yūyám imám me agadám krta 'And so let you, having thousand powers, free this [patient] of mine from disease'.

# **15.5.3** [**Triṣṭubh**] ŚS 2.28.5 $\approx$ TS 2.3.10.3 = ĀpMP 2.4.2 $\approx$ KS 11.7:153.16–17 $\approx$ MS 2.3.4:31.11–12

imam agna āyuşe varcase dhāḥ +Ta priyam reto varuṇa mitra rājan | +#Ta mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha Ta viśve devā jaradaṣṭir yathāsat || Ta

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> At PS 1.68.4f Bhattacharya edits *kumbhai*n, which clearly needs to be emended according to the reading of the ŚS. *Kurīra*- and *kumba*- refer to some kind of head-dress and head ornament used by women. See WHITNEY 1905: 384, and PARPOLA forthc.

O Agni, you will dispose this one toward longevity, toward splendour, [you will dispose his] dear seed, O Varuṇa, O king Mitra! As a mother, O Aditi, offer this one protection, so that he will be one reaching old age, O All-gods.

varcase] [Ma] K, varccase JM RM Mā Pa, varccaso Ku dhāḥ] Or, dhā K priyam] Or, priyo K reto] Ku JM RM Pa K, mitro Mā [Ma] varuṇa] K, vaṇṇa Or mitra] Or, mittra K mātevāsmā] K, mādevāsmā JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, mājevāsmā Ku yacha] Or, yaścha K yathāsat ||] yathāsat, K, yathāsaḥ Ku RM [Ma] Pa, yathāsaha JM, jathāsaḥ Mā ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, |RM, Z 3 Z K

#### ŚS 2.28.5

imám agné áyuse várcase naya priyám réto varuna mitra rājan | mātévāsmā adite śárma yacha víśve devā jarádaṣṭir yáthásat ||

## TS $2.3.10.3 = \bar{A}pMP 2.4.2$

imám agna áyuşe várcase kṛdhi priyám réto varuṇa soma rājan | mātévāsmā adite śárma yacha vísve devā járadaṣṭir yáthásat ||

#### KS 11.7:153.16-17

imám agna áyuşe várcase kṛdhi tígmám ójo varuṇá sámšiśādhi | mātévāsmā adite sárma yacha vísve devā jarádaṣṭir yáthásat ||

#### MS 2.3.4:31.11-12

imám agnā āyuṣe várcase kṛdhi tígmám ójo varuṇa soma rājan | mātévāsmā adite śárma yacha víśve devā járadastir yáthāsat ||

**ab**. There are interesting variants in the parallel passages of these two pādas, which have been variously interpreted by the translators (Whitney 'This one, O Agni, do thou lead for lifetime, for splendor, to dear seed, O Varuṇa, Mitra, king!'; Griffith 'Lead him to life, O Agni, and to splendour, this dear child, Varuna! and thou King Mitra!; Bloomfield 'Lead this dear child to life and vigour, O Agni, Varuna, and king Mitra!'). I interpret *priyam retas* as an expression indicating the offspring of the king, who is addressed with the pronoun *ayám*. This is suggested by the parallel position, at the beginning of the pāda, of the same pronoun and of the word *prajā*- in the previous stanza: we find at 5.2a *asmai* and at 5.2b *prajām*, exactly as at 5.3a *imam* and at 5.3b *priyam reto*. Note also that the PS reads *dhāḥ* (aorist subjunctive), while the parallel passages have *kṛdhi* (aorist imperative) and the ŚS has *naya*. The subjunctive of the PS seems to be the *lectio difficilior*, especially because it introduces a *variatio* with respect to the imperative in pāda **c**. On the syntactic relation between the roots *dhā*- and *kṛ*-, see CARDONA 1978.

Note that  $M\bar{a}$  and Ma read *mitro* instead of *reto*, maybe due to perseveration from verses in which appears the sequence *mitro* varuṇa- (e.g. PS 1.18.2a, 4.28.7c = 8.14.1c = 13.6.6c).

- **c**. Note the erroneous reading  $m\bar{a}dev\bar{a}sm\bar{a}$  in the Orissa manuscripts, due to the frequent confusion between -t- and -d- (cf. similar cases at 6.9a, 15.3a).
  - **d**. On the word *jarádasti*-, see TUCKER 2002.

# **15.5.4** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] ≈ ĀpMP 2.4.4, c: PS 2.65.5c agniṣ ṭa āyuḥ prataram kṛṇotu

Tb

somas te puṣṭim prataram dadhātu	Tb
indro marutvān adhi te bravītuv	*Tb
ādityais te aditiḥ śarma yachatu	Ja

Let Agni make a crossing for you toward longevity, let Soma provide a crossing for you toward prosperity. Let Indra, attended by the Maruts, speak in your favour. Let Aditi give you protection with the Adityas.

pādas cd om. K • agniṣ ṭa āyuḥ] agniṣ ṭa āyuḥ RM Mā [Ma] Pa, aGNIṢ ṬA āyuḥ Ku, agni āyuḥ JM, agniṣṭvāyuḫ K kṛṇotu] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, kṛṇotū Ku prataraṁ] Or, pratiraṁ K dadhātu | Or, dadhātu Z 4 Z K marutvān] maṛtvān Or ādityais] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, ādityes Mā śarma yachatu] śarma yachatu || Ku JM [Ma] Pa, śarma yachatu || RM, śayachatu || Mā

## ĀpMP 2.4.4

agnís ta áyuḥ pratarām dadhātv ágnis te pústim pratarām kṛṇotu | índro marúdbhir ṛtudhā kṛṇotv ādityáis te vásubhir ā dadhātu ||

- **ab**. Note that the ĀpMP uses the verbs  $k_r$  and  $dh\bar{a}$  in the same mood and tense as the PS, but exchanges them in the two sentences (see my note under 5.3ab). The expression  $\dot{a}yuh$  pratarám  $dh\bar{a}$  is attested several times in the RV and AV. Cf. especially RV 1.53.11d = 10.18.2b, 3d, 115.8d, ŚS 12.2.30b  $\approx$  PS 2.38.1c, 17.32.10b etc.  $dr\dot{a}gh\bar{i}ya$   $\dot{a}yuh$  pratarám  $d\dot{a}dh\bar{a}n\bar{a}h$  'Establishing a longer more extensive longevity', which has the same metrical structure as PS 15.5.4a. For the equivalent use of  $dh\bar{a}$  and  $k_r$  in this expression, cf. my comment under 15.5.3ab and PS 16.3.2c  $dr\bar{a}gh\bar{i}ya$   $\bar{a}yuh$  pratarám te  $k_r$ nomy, to be compared with ŚS 8.2.2d  $dr\dot{a}gh\bar{i}ya$   $\dot{a}yuh$  pratarám te  $dadh\bar{a}mi$ .
- c. This identical pāda occurs at PS 2.65.5c *indro marutvām adhi te bravītu* 'Indra, von den Maruts begleitet, soll für dich sprechen' (ZEHNDER 1999: 150).
- **d**. See similar expressions at RV 6.75.12d áditiḥ śárma yachatu 'Let Aditi give protection' and PS 2.70.5b ādityāś śarma yachata 'O Adityas, give protection'.

# **15.5.5** [N.N.] abd: $\approx \bar{A}pMP 2.2.3$ , KāthGS 41.5

revatīs tvā v <sub>i</sub> y <sup>+</sup> akṣaṇan	*A
kṛttikāś <sup>+</sup> cakṛtus t <sub>u</sub> vā	*A
apasas tvā vy <sup>+</sup> atanvata	A
dhiyo avayann avāgnāyīr *aprijjan	*+#T2

The Revatīs carded you, the Krttikās ('Spinners') spun you. The skilful ones stretched you [on the loom]. Divine thoughts wove [you], the wife of Agni [and the wives of the other gods] made the hems.

†akṣaṇan] akṣaṇaṁ **Or K** kṛttikāś] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, kṛtikāś **Mā**, kṛttikā **K** †cakṛtus] cakṛtas **Or**, cakrutus **K** apasas tvā †vyatanvata] apasas tvām atanvata **Or**, abhisastvā abhiśas tvā vyatanyatu **K** vayann avāgnāyīr \*apṛjjan ||] vayann avāgnāyīr apṛñcan || **JM**, vayamn avāgnāyīr apṛñcan **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, (| **Ku RM**), vayann avāgnā āyurvantaṁ **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

## ĀpMP 2.2.3

revátīs tvā vy àkṣṇan krttikās cākrtams tvā |

#### KāthGS 41.5

revatīs tvā vy akṣṇan kṛttikāś cakratus tvāpasas tvā vy atanvata dhiyo 'vayann ava gnā amṛjan |

### Bhattacharya edits *vyaksanam* in **a**.

After four stanzas in which several gods are invoked and asked to bestow precious gifts on the king, this stanza is addressed to the garment; the change in metre from Triṣṭubh/Jagatī to Anuṣṭubh underlines the transition. For the translation and interpretation of this stanza and of the following one, I refer to HOFFMANN 1985.

a. The Revatī is the  $27^{th}$  *nakṣatra* of the zodiac, corresponding to  $\zeta$  *piscium*. Its name means 'the wealthy one', and it was considered an auspicious constellation, capable of making a person born under its influence rich and purchase jewelry and gems. It is noteworthy that later Hindu astrology recommended wearing new dresses only when the moon was passing through this *nakṣatra*. The verb *kṣaṇ*- means 'to card'; "das Präverb vi weist präzisierend darauf hin, daß die verfilzten Wollhāre bei diesem Arbeitsgang auseinandergekratzt werden müssen" (HOFFMANN 1985: 174).

**b**. Both the readings *cakrutus* of **K** and *cakrtas* of **Or** point to a perfect form *cakrtus* from krt- 'to spin', on which see KÜMMEL 2000: 139. The word  $krttik\bar{a}s$  is the name of the Pleiades, the third naksatra of the zodiac, and it is first attested in the Atharvaveda, as stated by KNOBL 2009: 134–135. PS 15.5.5b could be added to the list of the earlier attestations of this word provided by Knobl: ŚS 9.7.3a  $\approx$  PS 16.139.3a vidyúj  $jihv\acute{a}$   $mar\acute{u}to$   $d\acute{a}nt\bar{a}$   $rev\acute{a}tir$   $gr\bar{v}\acute{a}h$   $kr\acute{v}ttik\bar{a}$   $skandh\acute{a}$   $gharm\acute{o}$   $v\acute{a}hah$  'The tongue [is] lightning, the teeth [are] the Maruts, the neck [is] the Revatīs, the shoulders [are] the Krttikās, the carrying [is] the hot drink', ŚS 19.7.2a  $suh\acute{a}vam$  agne  $kr\acute{v}ttik\bar{a}$   $r\acute{o}hin\bar{a}$  'O Agni, easy to be invoked [by me] the Krttikas, the Rohini stars', PS 19.38.13cd  $dev\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$   $patn\bar{a}h$   $krttik\bar{a}$  imam tantum \* $am\bar{a}muhan$  'The Krttikas, wives of the gods, have confused this warp'.

As confirmed by this stanza, the name of the Pleiades is derived from the verb krt-, so that the sequence  $krttik\bar{a}s$  cakrtus produces a beautiful  $anupr\bar{a}sa$ . The redactor must have been aware of this etymological connection between the noun and the verb, because also in PS 19.38.13 quoted above, they assign to the Pleiades an action which involves a warp (cf. further PS 15.6.6a).

- c. The PS version of this pāda is corrupt both in **K** and **Or**. I restore the correct readings according to the KāthGS. HOFFMANN 1985: 176 (note 9) points out that the reading  $tv\bar{a}m$  atanvata in the Orissa manuscripts could be secondary, because in the two preceding pādas the text has  $tv\bar{a}$ , not  $tv\bar{a}m$ , and the sequence  $tv\bar{a}vyatan^{\circ}$  in **K** occurs identically in the KāṭhGS.
- d. This pāda was discussed at length by HOFFMANN 1985: 176 (note 16). I quote *in extenso* his brilliant observations: "Statt *avā gnā āyurvantam*, wie Barret, JAOS 50, 1930, 51 die Akṣara-Folge des Kaschmir-Ms. zerlegt, lesen die Or.-Manuscripts *avāgnāyīrapṛñcan*, das offensichtlich in *ava agnāyīr apṛñcan* aufzulösen ist. Daß dieser Wortlaut auch dem verstümmelten Komplex *avāgnāāyur-vantam* des Kaschmir-Ms. Zugrunde liegt, zeigt deutlich das ā von *avā*-. Der Plural *agnāyīḥ* ist wohl elliptisch zu verstehen: *agnāyī-* 'die Frau des Agni und die Frauen der anderen Götter', vgl. RV I 22, 12 *indrāṇīm... varuṇanīm... agnāyīm*, RV V

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 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$  For the translation and interpretation of PS 19.38.13cd, I refer to LUBOTSKY 2002: 135 and KNOBL 2009: 135, notes 66–69.

46, 8 (= AV VII 49, 2) gnāḥ... devápatnīr indrāṇy àgnāyy aśvínī... ródasī varuṇānī... Wenn dieser elliptische Plural nicht mehr verstanden wurde, lag es nahe, aus agnāyīr das bekannte gnāḥ herauszuhören, wie es in ĀpMP und KāṭhGS vorliegt. Wenn auch ava... apṛñcan allem Anschein nach die authentische Lesung der Paippalāda-Version gewesen ist, kann es kaum sinnvoll zu dem Verbum pṛc (pṛṇakti) 'mischen, füllen' gestellt werden. Es dürfte sich letzen Endes um eine Entstellung von ava... \*apṛjjan handeln, das durch Kontamination mit avṛñjan über \*apṛñjan dem hochsprachlichen apṛñcan lautlich angeglichen wurde". I follow Hoffmann's suggestion and emend the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, apṛñcan, to \*apṛjjan. The reading of Kāyurvantaṁ is not helpful at all, since it is clearly a blunder due to a misunderstanding of the text: the first word of the compound, āyur-, was taken from 5.1a āyurdā and 5.2a āyur. The ultimate reasoning for the emendation is that the verb (ava)pṛj-, previously known only from the verbal adjective án-ava-pṛgṇa- 'nicht abgeschlossen (von einem Kleid)', attested at RV 1.152.4, provides the terminus technicus for making the hem of a cloth (cf. the noun ava-prajjana- 'Gewebeabschluß' at AB 3.10.5 and see RAU 1970: 18).

# **15.5.6** [**Triṣṭubh**] a: cf. ŚS 14.1.45b = PS 18.5.2b, $\bar{A}pMP$ 2.2.3, cd: ≈ $\bar{A}pMP$ 2.2.4, cf. KāṭhGS 41.5

sahasram antām abhito (')dadanta-	Tb
-aśītir madhyam abhayam vi nārīḥ	Tb
devīr devāya paridhe savitre	Tb
mahat tad āsām *abhavan mahitvam	Tb

A thousand [women] held the ends on all sides, eighty [held] the middle safely apart, the goddesses, in order to clothe god Savitar. It became the great greatness of those women.

antām antām Or, anta K dadantāsītir] JM RM [Mā], dadaNTāsīTIr Ku, dadantāsītir [Ma] Pa, radantāsītir K madhyam] RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, maDHYAM Ku, maghya {bha}m JM abhayam] K, abhayam Or vi] Or, tu K nārīḥ] K, nārī Or paridhe] Or, paride K mahat tad] K, mahatvad Or \*abhavan] aghavan Or K ||] Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku JM RM, Z 6 Z K

#### ĀpMP 2.2.4

devīr devāya paridhī savitré mahát tád āsām abhavan mahítvanam

# ŚS 14.1.45ab

yấ ákṛntann ávayan yấs ca tatniré yấ devīr ántām abhító 'dadanta |

#### KāthGS 41.5

sahasram antām abhito 'dadantāśītīr madhyam avayann u nārīḥ |

# Bhattacharya edits *aghavan* in **d**.

- **a.** On the root dad-, see WACKERNAGEL 1953: 379–80 and GOTŌ 1987: 171–172. As already noticed by HOFFMANN 1985: 176 note 4, Whitney's translation 'gave' is incorrect, because the root dad- 'to hold (firm)', which is concerned here, must be considered synchronically independent from the root  $d\bar{a}$  'to give'.
- **b**. HOFFMANN 1985: 174 states that this pāda is to be read, according to KāṭhGS, as  $aśīt\bar{\imath}r$  madhyam avayann u  $n\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}h$  'achtzig Frauen aber (u?) webten die Mitte'; in a note, however, he underlines the awkward position of the particle u after the unaccented verb, as well as the fact

that the word *abhayam*, being common both to the **K** and **Or** traditions, cannot simply be corrected to *avayann*, and must therefore be the authentic PS reading. The implied verb of this line can be inferred from the preceding pāda, so I supply the preverb *vi* with *adadanta*. It seems to me that the PS version of this pāda is indeed more original and gives a better sense than the KāṭhGS. The cloth having been woven in stanza 5.5, it seems illogical that the verb *ve*-should be used again in this stanza. The image depicted in the PS is clearer: while the thousand goddesses stretch the (already finished) cloth by holding out its hems, eighty goddesses keep up the middle, preventing it from touching the ground.

- c. The sequence *paridhe savitre* is found also at PS 5.16.2b, where Bhattacharya edits the Orissa manuscripts' reading *paridhe*; LUBOTSKY 2002: 84 chooses the reading of **K** *paride*, which is preferable because of the meaning ('in order to deliver' better suits the context than 'in order to put on': *devebhyo havyam paride savitre* 'In order to deliver the oblation to the gods, to Savitar'). In our passage, the readings of the manuscripts are the same, but *paridhe* is no doubt correct: see the use of the same verb *pari-dhā* in this hymn and in the following one at 5.8bd, 9ab, 10ab, 6.1a, 2a, 3a, 8a. The reading of **K** is due to perseveration from PS 5.16.2b.
- **d**. The reading *aghavan* of all the manuscripts must be an ancient mistake of the archetype, maybe due to a wrong word division in the sequence  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}maghavan$ , interpreted as  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}$  maghavan. The emendation to \*abhavan (cf.  $\bar{A}pMP$  2.2.4) has already been proposed by Barret.

# **15.5.7** [**Anuṣṭubh**] $\approx \bar{A}pMP$ 2.2.2, cd: PS 15.6.10cd, d: ŚS 19.32.6b = PS 5.1.7b = VSM 12.99 etc.

imam aśmānam ā tiṣṭha-	+#A
-aśmeva tvam sthiro bhava	A
pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ	A
sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ	A

Step on this stone, become firm like a stone. Destroy those wishing to injure, overcome those who fight [you].

aśmānam] **Ku K**, asmānam **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** durasyataḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, durasyata **JM**, durasyatu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

#### ĀpMP 2.2.2

ā tiṣṭhemám áśmānam áśmeva tvám sthiró bhava | abhí tiṣṭha pṛtanyatás sáhasva pṛtanāyatáḥ ||

### ŚānkhGS 1.13.12

aśmānam ātiṣṭhāśmeva tvam sthirā bhava | abhi tiṣṭha pṛtanyataḥ sahasva pṛtanāyata iti ||

#### HirGS 1.4.1

ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam aśmeva tvam sthiro bhava | pra mṛṇīhi durasyūn sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ ||

#### JG 1.12b

imam aśmānam ārohāśmeva tvam sthiro bhava

sáhasva no abhímātim sáhasva pṛtanāyatáḥ |

ad. Another change of metre marks a new transition. This stanza, addressed to the king, contains the mantra for the ritual of aśmārohaṇa 'mounting the stone', which is attested in many texts with several variants (see NARAYANA PILLAI 1958: 219–222). The aśmārohaṇa ritual had various applications in different ceremonies: it is part of the wedding ceremony, when the bridegroom makes the bride tread on a stone as a symbol of stability and fidelity; it is used in the Upanayana ceremony, when the boy is asked to stand on a stone as symbol of steadfastness at study or strength and invulnerability; it is found also in a birth-rite and in the Godāna ceremony. As far as I know, this PS stanza is the only place where the 'aśman- verse' is used in connection with a royal rite: the use of this mantra was probably suggested by the image of the stone as a symbol of firmness and above all by the exhortation to overcome the enemies, which is a typical prerogative of the king.

# 15.5.8 [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.24.1

yena devam savitāram	#A
pari devā <sup>+</sup> adhāpayan	A
tenemam *brahmaṇaspatim	A
pari rāṣṭrāya dhattana	A

With what [garment] the gods wrapped god Savitar, do you wrap this Brahmaṇaspati for dominion.

yena] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jena **Mā** <sup>+</sup>adhāpayan] adhārayan **Or**, diyāpayan **K** tenemam] **Ku JM Pa** [**Ma**] **K**, tenamam **Mā**, tenedam **RM** \*brahmaṇaspatim] brahmaṇaspate **Or**, **K** dhattana] **Or**, dattanaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 19.24.1

yéna devám savitáram pári devá ádhāpayan | ténemám brahmaṇaspate pári rāṣṭrāya dhattana ||

### Bhattacharya edits *adhārayan* in **b**.

- **b**. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts  $adh\bar{a}rayan$  is the reading of all the ŚS manuscripts as well (as expected in a hymn belonging to ŚS 19). As observed by Whitney, the whole meaning of the hymn suggests emending the verb to  $adh\bar{a}payan$ , and the reading of **K** deva  $diy\bar{a}payan$  gives this emendation sufficient support, so I adopt it in the text.
- cd. Note that the verb is plural; the subject should be singular and connected with the transmitted vocative *brahmaṇaspate*. To explain this fact, WHITNEY 1905: 934 refers to the opinion of the commentator on the ŚS, who quotes TS 6.1.1.4 *tád vá etát sarvadevatyàm yád vásas* 'that is indeed the garment which belongs to all the gods', "to the effect that this same garment belongs to all the gods". I prefer to emend the transmitted text to \*brahmaṇaspatim because besides solving the problem of the subject of the verb, which can be easily inferred from pāda **b** (the gods), the emendation creates a perfect parallelism between *imam* \*brahmaṇaspatim in 5.8c, *imam indram* in 5.9a and *imam somam* in 5.10a (note that the three divinities Bṛhaspati, Savitar and Indra are quoted together at 6.5d).

The transmitted text *tenemam brahmaṇaspate* is for sure due to perseveration from the identical pādas PS 1.11.1c = PS 18.17.1d.

# **15.5.9** [Anuştubh] ŚS 19.24.2, abd: cf. PS 15.5.10abd, c: PS 15.5.10c

parīmam indram āyuṣe	A
mahe kṣatrāya dhattana	A
yathainam jarase <sup>+</sup> nayāñ	A
*jyok kṣatre adhi jāgarat	A

Wrap this Indra for longevity, for great kingdom, so that [the gods] will lead him to old age, so that he will watch over kingdom for a long time.

pādas a-d om. K • parīmam] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, par{i}īmam [Mā] indram] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, īndram RM āyuşe] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, om. JM mahe] RM Mā [Ma] Pa, sahe Ku, om. JM kṣatrāya] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, om. JM yathainam] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, yathenam JM +nayāñ] nayām Or \*jyok] yo Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, yok JM RM kṣatre] Ku RM Mā [Ma], {ýa}→kṣatre Pa, śrotre JM adhi] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], adha Pa jāgarat] jāgarat, ∥ Mā [Ma] (∣ Ku JM Pa), jā(+ga)rata ∣ RM ∥] Mā [Ma], ∣ Ku JM RM Pa

# ŚS 19.24.2

párīmám índram ấyuṣe mahé kṣatrấya dhattana | yáthainam jaráse náyāj jyók kṣatré 'dhi jāgarat ||

Bhattacharya edits yathaitam, which must be a misprint, and nayām in c.

This stanza is not found in **K**. The mistake was due to the fact that stanzas 9 and 10 have the same beginning, so the scribe skipped from *parīmam* in 5.9a to *parīmam* in 5.10a ("saut du même au même". Correctly, WHITNEY 1905: 935 states, "It is perhaps only by an accident that vs. 2 is omitted in Ppp.").

- c. The reading  $nay\bar{a}m$  is in all the ŚS manuscripts too. WHITNEY 1905: 934 has proposed the emendation  $n\dot{a}y\bar{a}t$ , but the form actually found in all the manuscripts can be interpreted as a 3<sup>rd</sup> plural subjunctive from the root  $n\bar{\imath}$  ( $nay\bar{a}n$ ) with the sandhi -m j- between final -n and initial j-, which occurs several times in such cases (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LXI). Cf.  $\mathbb{R}V$  1.161.3cd ( $\approx$  PS 1.62.3cd  $\approx$  ŚS 3.11.3cd, 20.96, 8cd) śatám yáthemám śarádo náyātíndro víśvasya duritásya  $p\bar{a}r\acute{a}m$  'So that Indra will lead him for a hundred years over the further shore of every difficulty'.
- **d**. The initial cluster jy- is often simplified to y- in the Orissa manuscripts (cf. pāda **d** of the next stanza, the apparatus under 13.8a, 15.5b, and further PS 20.5.10b, 10.8c etc.). On Vedic  $jy\delta k$ , see Tichy 2008 (especially p. 481 note 7). Although Tichy does not quote ŚS 19.24.2d, 3d = PS 15.5.9d, 10d among the exceptions to the common disyllabic scansion  $j_iy\delta k$ , it is clear that in these cases the adverb is to be read as a monosyllable.

# **15.5.10** [**Anuṣṭubh**] ŚS 19.24.3, abd: cf. PS 15.5.9abd, c: cf. PS 15.5.9c, KāṭhGS 41.7, PS 2.39.4b, BaudhŚS 12.11:101.12, TS 1.8.14.1

parīmam somam āyuṣe	A
mahe śrotrāya dhattana	A
yathainam jarase <sup>+</sup> nayāñ	A

A

Wrap this Soma for longevity, for great hearing, so that [the gods] will lead him to old age, so that he will watch over hearing for a long time.

parīmam] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, parimam **Mā**, paremam **K** dhattana] **Or**, dhattanaḥ **K** yathainam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**], yathenam **JM**, ya{thai}thainam **Pa**, athainam **K** \*nayāñ] nayām **Or**, naya **K** jyok] **K**, yok **Or** adhi] **Or**, dhi **K** ||] || r 10 || 5 || **Ku JM**, | r | 5 | **RM**, || 5 || r 10 || **Pa Mā** [**Ma**], Z 9 Z kāṇḍaḥ 1 Z **K** 

ŚS 19.24.3

párīmám índram ấyuṣe mahé śrótrāya dhattana | yáthainam jaráse náyāj jyók śrótré 'dhi jāgarat ||

## Bhattacharya edits *nayām* in **c**.

**b**. The word *śrotra*- usually means 'the organ of hearing, ear' or 'the act of hearing'. It is difficult to understand its meaning in this context. Another possible translation could be 'listening', both the acts of hearing and listening being convenient for a king. Whitney translates it with 'instruction'. A concrete meaning is suggested by the parallel passage ŚS 10.6.8cd *tám sómaḥ práty amuñcata mahé śrótrāya cákṣase* 'That [amulet] Soma fastened on, for great hearing [and] sight'. Cf. further PS 2.39.4ab *sam prāṇāpānābhyām sam \*u cakṣuṣā sam śrotreṇa gachasva soma rājan* 'O king Soma, unite yourself with exhalation and inhalation, with the sight, with the ear', TS 1.8.14.1 *sómo rājā váruṇo devā dharmasúvaś ca yé* | *té te vācam suvantām té te prāṇām suvantām té te cákṣuḥ suvantām té te śrótram suvantām* 'King Soma, Varuṇa and the gods instigating order; let them instigate your speech, let them instigate your exhalation, let them instigate your sight, let them instigate your ear'.

**cd**. The structure of pādas **cd** of this stanza must be identical with **cd** of the preceding one. See my note on 5.9cd above.

# 15.6. The king's investiture (continued)

<b>15.6.1</b> [ <b>Triṣṭubh</b> ] ŚS $2.13.2 = $ ŚS $19.24.4 \approx $ HirGS $1.4.2 = \bar{\text{ApMP}} 2.2.6$ , ab: Ma	anB 1.1.6
pari dhatta dhatta varcasemam	+T1
jarāmŗtyuṁ kŗṇuta dīrgham āyuḥ	+#Ta
brhaspatiḥ prāyachad vāsa etat	!+#Ta
somāya rājñe paridhātavā u	Tb

Wrap, cover this one with splendour, make [him] one who dies of old age, [make] his longevity long. Brhaspati offered that garment to Soma, the king, to wear.

dhatta dhatta] **Or**, data **K** varcasemam] varcasemam **Or**, varcase imam **K** jarāmṛtyum] **K**, jarām mṛtyum **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, jarām mutyu **Mā** kṛṇuta] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** K, kṛṇata **JM** bṛhaspatiḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatiḥ **K** prāyachad vāsa] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, prāya{c}chad vasa **JM**, prāyaścha vivāce **K** etat] **Or**, om. **K** paridhātavā u] **Ku**, paridhātavā u **JM RM**, paridadhātavā u [**Ma**] **Pa**, paridadhātavān, **Mā**, paridhātavāyuḥ **K** ||| **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

\$S 2.13.2 = \$S 19.24.4

pári dhatta dhattá no várcasemám jarāmrtyum kṛṇuta dīrghám ấyuḥ lbṛhaspátiḥ prấyachad vấsa etát sómāya rấjñe páridhātavấ u ||

HirGS  $1.4.2 = \bar{A}pMP 2.2.6$ 

pári dhatta dhatta vấsasainam satấyuṣam kṛṇuta dīrghám ấyuḥ lbṛhaspátiḥ prấyachad vấsa etát sómāya rấjñe páridhātavấ u ||

This stanza and the following one are quoted in AVPariś 4.1 (see introduction to PS 15.5). Bhattacharya edits *varccasemai* in **a**.

- **a**. Note that in the ŚS the metre has been improved with the insertion of *no*, which is probably secondary.
- **b**. The compound  $jar\acute{a}m_rtyu$ -, which occurs in this kāṇḍa also at 15.6.5b = ŚS 19.24.8b and 15.16.2a, is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'having the death in old age', i.e. 'dying of old age' (cf. PS 1.80.4a, 1.82.1d etc.). As noted by ZEHNDER 1993: 138 fn. 214, in this passage it could be interpreted as a Tatpuruṣa meaning 'death in old age', but the accent advises against this interpretation.

As opposed to this scenario, according to AiGr. II/1, § 67b, p. 159 and § 70, p. 165, jarāmṛtyu- is a Dvandva that can be translated 'old age and death', but this meaning seems to fit only the passage MuṇḍUp. 1.2.7 quoted as example (etac chreyo ye 'bhinandanti mūḍhā jarāmṛtyuṁ te punar evāpiyanti 'Fools who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death' [Müller]).

# **15.6.2** [**Triṣṭubh**] ŚS 19.24.5, ĀpMP 2.2.7 ≈ HirGS 1.4.2, PārGS1.4.12, c: cf. PS 15.6.3c, cd: ≈ ŚS 2.13.3cd

jarām su gacha pari dhatsva vāso	Tb
bhavā gṛṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u	Tb
śatam ca jīva śaradaḥ suvarcā	Tb
rāyaś ca posam upasamyyayasva	Tb

Advance safely toward old age, wear the garment, and become one defending people from curses. And being full of splendor, live a hundred autumns. Cover yourself in abundant wealth.

jarām] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, jasam(→ rām) Pa gacha] Or, gaścha K gṛṣṭīnām] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, śṛṣṭīnām JM, kṛṣṭīnām K abhiśastipā u] JM RM, abhiśastivā u Ku [Ma], abhisastivān, Mā, abhisastivā{n}(→ u) Pa, abhiṣastivāyuḥ K śatam ca] Ku JM RM K, śatam ca Mā [Ma] Pa śaradaḥ] Or, śaradas K suvarcā] K, suvarccā Or rāyaś ca poṣam] K, rāyaṣpoṣam Or samvyayasva] Ku JM RM Mā, sa vyayasva [Ma] Pa, tvā madema K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, |RM, Z 2 Z K

#### ŚS 19.24.5

jarām sú gacha pári dhatsva vāso bhávā gṛṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u | śatám ca jīva śarádaḥ purūcī rāyáś ca póṣam upasámvyayasva ||

#### ŚS 2.13.3

párīdám váso adhithāḥ svastáyé 'bhūr gṛṣṭīnām abhisastipā u | satám ca jīva sarádaḥ purūcī rāyás ca póṣam upasamvyayasva ||

#### ĀpMP 2.2.7

jarām gacchāsi pári dhatsva vāso bhávā kṛṣṭīnām abhiśastipā vā | śatám ca jīva śarádas suvárcā rāyáś ca póṣam úpasámvyayasva ||

**b**. For the interpretation of this verse, cf. WHITNEY 1905: 57 and 935. Following LUBOTSKY 2002: 41, I hesitate to emend  $g_r s_t \bar{t} n \bar{a} m$  to  $*k_r s_t \bar{t} n \bar{a} m$ , because it is very likely that the two forms show a common variant between -k- and -g- (see Ved. Var. II, 28).

Note the metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *bhavā* (RV 10×).

**d**. I adopt the reading of **K**  $r\bar{a}ya\dot{s}$  ca  $po\dot{s}am$ , which occurs in the parallel texts and is much better for the metre.

## **15.6.3** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] ŚS 19.24.6, ĀpMP 2.2.8, abc: ŚS 2.13.3abc, c: cf. PS 15.6.2c

parīdam vāso *adhithāḥ suvastaye	*Jb
abhūr v āpīnām abhiśastipā u	*Tb
śatam ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcīr	Tb
vasūni cārur vibhajāsi jīvan	Tb

Put on this garment for well-being, you have become the protector of friends from curses. Live a hundred full autumns; living, beloved, you will distribute goods.

\*adhithāḥ] api dhāḥ Ku [Ma] Pa, api dhā JM RM Mā, dhidhās K abhiśastipā u] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, abhiśasastarvā u Mā, abhiśaktivāyuḥ K śatam ca] Ku JM RM K, śatam ca Mā [Ma] Pa jīva] Or, jīvaś (?) K śaradaḥ] Or, śaradaḥ K purūcīr K, pur̄cīr Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, purcīr JM RM vasūni] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, vasuni JM cārur] K, cārur Ku JM Mā [Ma], cārur Pa, par RM vibhajāsi] Or, vyabhajāsu K ||] JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, Z 3 Z K

#### ŚS 19.24.6

párīdám vāso adhithāḥ svastáyé 'bhūr v āpīnām abhisastipā u | satám ca jīva sarádaḥ purūcīr vásūni cārur ví bhajāsi jīvan ||

ŚS 2.13.3

párīdám vāso adhithāḥ svastáyé 'bhūr gṛṣṭīnām abhisastipā u | satám ca jīva sarádaḥ purūcī rāyás ca póṣam upasamvyayasva ||

#### ĀpMP 2.2.8

párīdám vāso ádhi dhā svastáye 'bhūr āpīnām abhisastipā vā | satám ca jīva sarádaḥ purūcīr vásūni cāryó ví bhajāsi jīvan ||

Bhattacharya edits *api dhāḥ* in **a** and [']bhūr  $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}m$  in **b**.

- **a**. I don't follow Bhattacharya in reading *api dhāḥ* ( $2^{nd}$  singular subjunctive from *apidhā*-) as in the Orissa manuscripts, but I prefer the text of the ŚS *adhithāḥ* ( $2^{nd}$  singular root aorist from *dhā*-), which is better because of *pari* at the beginning of the pāda; a verb *paryapidhā* is not attested, whereas *paridhā* is found several times in this hymn. Note that the reading of **K** *dhidhās* gives this emendation some support.
- **b**. I interpret  $bh\bar{u}r$  as  $abh\bar{u}r$ ,  $2^{nd}$  singular root agrist from  $bh\bar{u}$ -, and analyse v  $\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}m$  as u and  $\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}m$  (cf. WHITNEY 1905: 935). On the collocation  $abh\bar{u}d$  u, which is frequent in the  $^{R}V$  (7×), see KLEIN 1985: 42.

## **15.6.4** [Gāyatrī] $\mathbb{R}V 1.30.7 = \mathbb{V}SM 11.14 = \mathbb{T}S 4.1.2.1 = ŚS 19.24.7 = ĀpMP 1.6.3, 2.4.1 etc.$

yogeyoge tavastaram	A
vājevāje havāmahe	A
sakhāya indram ūtaye	A

In every exploit, in every contest we, as friends, call Indra, the stronger one, for help.

yogeyoge] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yogoyoge **JM** tavastaram **Ku JM RM Mā** tapa(→va)staram **Pa**, tapa(→va)staram [**Ma**] ||] **Ku, JM Mā, [Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

Note the sudden change of metre. This Gāyatrī stanza, which is found in the context of Triṣṭubh-Jagatī pādas, has been taken from the RV and may not originally belong to the hymn.

**b**. On the word  $vagar{a}ia$ , see Kuiper 1960 (especially pp. 239–40).

## **15.6.5** [**Triştubh**] ŚS 19.24.8, c: ŚS 16.9.2, PS 18.53.2a, cd: ŚS 8.5.5ab, PS 2.24.5cd, 16.27.5ab

hiraṇyavarṇo ajaraḥ suviro	Tb
jarāmṛtyuḥ prajayā saṁ viśasva	Ta
tad agnir āha tad u soma āha	Tb
bṛhaspatiḥ savitā tad indraḥ	T1

Golden-coloured, unaging, rich in heroes, dying of old age, engage in your progeny. That says Agni, that says Soma too, that [says] Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Indra.

hiraṇyavarṇo] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, hiraṇyavarṇā (?) **Pa** ajaraḥ] **Or**, ajayas **K** jarāmṛtyuḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, jarāmṃtyu **Mā**, jarāmṛtyuḥ **K** tad u soma āha] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, tad u soma āha tad u soma āha **JM** bṛhaspatiḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatis **K** |||] **Ku, JM Mā**, [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

híraṇyavarṇo ajáraḥ suvīro jarāmrtyuḥ prajáyā sám viśasva l tád agnír āha tád u sóma āha bṛhaspátiḥ savitā tád índraḥ ||

- **a**. **K** reads *ajayas*, 'unconquered', 'invincible' instead of *ajarah*.
- **d**. On these three divinities grouped together, see my comment on 15.5.8cd.

#### **15.6.6** [**Tristubh**] PS only

†yadottamattantumad dhāyanāvad†	Ta
vāsaḥ pūrvayāvat pururūpapeśaḥ	T2c
†bhadrātīkāśam ajaraṁ suvīraṁ	Tb
tena te devāḥ pra tirantuv āyuḥ	*+Tb

When the garment having excellent threads ... (?), having braids, having multiform ornaments; having beautiful holes/apertures, unaging, rich in heroes: with that let the gods make your lifetime [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

ottamattantumad dhāyanāvad] ota satyam tu madhyāya nāvad K, ottamattantubaddhāyanāvad Ku Mā [Ma], ottamattantu{ba}maddhāyanā{ma}vad JM, otta{·}māttantumaddhāyanāvad RM, ottamattantabaddhāyanāvad Pa pūrvayāvat] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, pūrvayāva{·}t RM, pūrvayāvayatu K pururūpapeśaḥ] Mā [Ma], puṛṣpapeśaḥ RM Pa, pu(+ṣ)ṣpapeśaḥ Ku, puṛṣpapeṣaśaḥ JM, pururūpa | payasaḥ K +bhadrātīkāśam] bhadrātīkāsam Or, bhadrācīkās sam K te] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, om. Mā devāḥ] Or, devāḥ K tirantv āyuḥ Itrantv āyuḥ RM, tiramtv āyuḥ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, tiranta āyuḥ K ||] JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku, RM, Z 6 Z K

Bhattacharya edits yadottamattantubaddhāya nāvad in a and bhadrātīkāsamajaram in c.

**a**. The interpretation of this pāda, which refers to the garment, is problematic. At the beginning of the verse, one can read with  $\mathbf{K}$  yad otam '(the garment) which is interwoven', but then the reading is not further reliable.

I tentatively propose to read *yadā\_uttamatantumad*, interpreting the hapax *uttamatantumad* as a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'having excellent threads (*tantu-*)', but I have no solution for the last part of the verse.

**b**. The word  $p\bar{u}rvay\bar{a}vat$  can possibly be interpreted as a nominative neuter from the hapax  $p\bar{u}rvay\bar{a}vant$ - 'having braids, trimmed' (for the long  $\bar{a}$  before the suffix -vant-, see AiGr II/2, § 711a, p. 886). The word  $p\bar{u}rvaya$ - is considered an adjective in the dictionaries; it is indeed attested only in a compound, at TS 2.2.11.4  $up\bar{a}dh\bar{a}yyap\bar{u}rvayam$  'with a fringe'. Keith translates  $up\bar{a}dh\bar{a}yyap\bar{u}rvayam$  'with a fringe', but this Bahuvrīhi is literally to be rendered 'whose fringes are placed upon'; therefore,  $p\bar{u}rvaya$ - must be a substantive, meaning 'braid, fringe, edge'.

Also the compound  $purur\bar{u}papeśas$ - is a hapax, probably an extension of the compound  $purur\bar{u}pa$ - 'multiform, variegated' ( $\mathbb{R}\mbox{V}+$ ), modeled on the synonymous compounds purupéśas-, viśvápeśas- 'multiform, having all adornments' ( $\mbox{R}\mbox{V}+$ ).

**c**. I analyse the sequence *bhadrātīkāsamajaram* as \**bhadrātīkāśam* and *ajaram* (cf. 6.5a above). The compound *bhadrātīkāśa*- is a hapax; while its first member is widely attested in the sense of 'auspicious, fortunate, beautiful', the word *atīkāśa*- is rare; besides here, it is

attested at MS 1.2.2:11.9–10 = KS 2.3:9.18 = TS 1.2.2  $\approx$  KapS 1.15:13.7 (atikāśa-) nákṣatrāṇām mātīkāśāt pāhi 'Protect me from the brightness of the stars'. In this passage, it is clear that the word means 'brightness, lustre' (as expected in a derivative from the root kāś- 'to be visible, to shine'), but in other occurences, namely at PS 4.40.3b, TS 6.1.1 and AB 8.17.2 the meaning 'hole, aperture' fits the context better than the meaning 'brightness'. It is significant that another derivative of the same root, namely  $\bar{a}k\bar{a}ś\acute{a}$ -, could mean both 'open space, sky' and 'aperture, opening', in different contexts (see HOFFMANN 1976: 521 note 4). This is not surprising, as in many languages a word meaning 'light' can also mean 'hole', 'aperture' (cf. Italian 'lume').

In a context in which a garment is described, the compound *bhadrātīkāśa*- can be interpreted both as 'having auspicious brightness' as well as 'having auspicious holes'.

#### 15.6.7 [Tristubh] PS only

yasya brahmāṇaḥ sicam ārabhante	Tb
śrathnanto *nīvim pratiranta āyuḥ	Tb
tasya devā devahūtim juṣantām	+Ta
sa viśvahā sacatām s <sub>u</sub> vasti	*T1

Let the gods enjoy the god-invocation of him whose hem the priests take hold of, untying the loincloth, making life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers]. May he at all times be associated with well-being.

From *yasya* to *tasya* om. **Mā Pa** • brahmāṇaḥ] **Or**, brahmāṇas **K** sicam] **JM RM**, śicam **Ku**, śica [**Ma**], sṛjam **K** ārabhante] **Ku JM** [**Ma**] **K**, ābharante **RM** śrathnanto] **RM** [**Ma**], śna(→ śra)thnanto **Ku**, śranthnanto **JM**, svarchanto **K** \*nīviṁ] nīvaṁ **Or**, nyamaṁ **K** pratiranta] **K**, pratiraṁtv **Or** tasya] [**Ma**] **K**, yasya **Ku JM RM** viśvahā] **Or**, viśvā **K** sacatāṁ] **Or**, sajatāṁ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 **Z K** 

Bhattacharya edits +sicam in **a** and  $n\bar{\imath}vam$  in **b**.

- a. The readings of **JM** and **RM** make the "+"-sign before *sicam* unnecessary. For the verb  $\bar{a}rabh$ -, see Gotō 1976. The expression *sicam*  $\bar{a}rabh$  occurs at RV 3.53.2cd  $pit\acute{u}r$  ná putráh sícam  $\acute{a}$  rabhe ta índra svádiṣṭhayā girá śacīvaḥ 'O mighty Indra, with the sweetest song I take hold of your hem, as a son [takes hold of] his father's'.
- **b**. The reading  $n\bar{\imath}va\dot{m}$  can hardly be correct ( $n\bar{\imath}va$  m., is 'a species of tree'). The emendation to \* $n\bar{\imath}vim$  is very probable;  $n\bar{\imath}vi$  means "ein um die Hüften geschlungenes Tuch, das auch zur Aufbewahrung kleinerer Gegenstände dienen konnte" (RAU 1970: 29–30), and here the priests are probably taking off the clothes of the king in order to cover him with the new garment (see the next stanza). Cf. also ZEHNDER 1999: 79.
- **c**. The expression *devā devahūtim* is somewhat pleonastic. Cf. the treatment of the similar syntagma *devānām devahūti* in GRIFFITHS 2009: 344.
- **d**. Cf. RV 1.1.9c sácasvā naḥ svastáye 'Stay with us for well-being', 4.11.6cd doṣā śiváḥ sahasaḥ sūno agne yám devá ā cit sácase svastí 'O Agni, son of the strength, at night benevolent is he whom you, the god, stay with, for well-being', 5.28.2b havíṣ kṛṇvántam sacase svastáye 'You stay with him who makes the oblation, for well-being'.

anyad ā dhatsva pari dhatsva vāsa	+Tb
imam ulbam apa <sup>+</sup> lumpāmi yas te	+Ta
jarase tvām rṣayaḥ sam vyayantu	+Ta
sūryo bhagas te pra <sup>+</sup> tirant <sub>u</sub> v āyuḥ	Tb

Put another one on, wear the garment. I remove this caul which is yours. Let the seers wrap you for old age, let Sūrya [and] Bhaga make your life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

anyad ā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], anya{dh}d ā **Pa**, yannarā **K** apa <sup>+</sup>lumpāmi] apa lampāmi **Or**, apu lampāni **K** yas] **Or**, jas **K** rṣayaḥ] **Or**, rṣayas **K** vyayantu] vyayantu **Or**, vyantu **K** <sup>+</sup>tirantv āyuḥ] tiramtv āyuḥ **Or**, tiranta āyuḥ **K** ||] **Ku, JM Mā, [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 8 Z K** 

#### Bhattacharya edits *apalampāmi* in **b**.

This stanza and the following ones are addressed to the king and describe his rebirth after the rite. Cf. PARPOLA 1985: 146, "During a sacrificial ritual, the performer was, from his initiation to the final bath, symbolically in the womb. When the rite was finished, he was reborn out of it, and in the final bath [...] this 'newborn' discarded the embryonic covers, the garment he had been using during the sacrifice, also the tārpya garment".

**b**. Bhattacharya proposes an emendation to *apa lumpāmi* in the critical apparatus. I adopt it in the text, since is indirectly supported by the reading of **K** *apulampāni*, with incorrect placement of the *u*-sign. The same situation is found at PS 2.81.1d \**akṣṇo 'rmam apa +lumpatu* 'Let it remove the *arma*-disease from the eye', where again the Orissa manuscripts read *apa lampatu* and **K** *apu lampatu* (in this case, however, Bhattacharya makes the emendation \**lumpatu*). At PS 5.14.1e \**rjīṣam apa +lumpatam* 'Let them two remove the sediment', Bhattacharya adopts the Orissa manuscripts' reading *lampatam*, but **K** has again preserved the -*u*- sign, this time in the right position (*luspatu*). For other attestations of the compound verb *apa lup*-, cf. Zehnder 1999: 182 and Lubotsky 2002: 74.

c. Cf. ŚS 7.17.3c *tásmai devā amrtam sám vyayantu* 'For him let the gods wrap immortality', PS 20.3.8c *tasya prajā amrtāh sam vyayantu* 'Let the immortals wrap his offspring' and ŚS 14.1.45c: *tās tvā jaráse sám vyayantu* "Let them wrap you for old age".

## **15.6.9** [**Triṣṭubh**] ≈ ŚS 2.13.5 ≈ HirGS 1.7.17 ≈ $\bar{A}$ pMP 2.6.15

yasya *te vāsaḥ prathamavās <sub>i</sub> yaṁ	*(+)#Tb
harāmi tam tvā viśve avantu devāḥ	T2
tam tvā bhrātaraḥ suvrdhā vardhamānam	T2
anu jāyantām bahavaḥ sujātam	+Tb

Let the All-gods help you here, whose garment, formerly worn, I take. May many brothers be born after you, well born, growing with good growth.

\*te vāsaḥ] devāsaḥ **Or**, devā **K** prathamavāsyaṁ] **Or**, prathamāsyo **K** avantu] **K**, vantu **Or** bhrātaraḥ] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, bhrātaraṁ (→ ḥ) **Ku**, bhrātaras **K** suvrdhā] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, suvaddhā **Mā**, suvitrā **K** vardhamānam] **Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, varddhamānam **Ku JM Pa**, varddhamānām **RM** jāyantāṁ] **Or**,

jāyatam (?) **K** bahavaḥ] **Or**, bahavas **K** sujātam] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, sujātam **Ku RM**, svatam **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

ŚS  $2.13.5 \approx \text{HirGS } 1.7.17 \approx \bar{\text{ApMP }} 2.6.15$  yásya te vásaḥ prathamavāsyàm hárāmas tám tvā víśve 'vantu (ĀpMP avantu) devấḥ | tám tvā bhrấtaraḥ (ĀpMP bhrấtaras) suvýdhā várdhamānam ánu jāyantām bahávaḥ (ĀpMP bahávas) sújātam ||

- **a**. Confusion between -t- and -d- is a common mistake in **K** as well as in **Or** (cf. the same mistake in the same word in **K** at 15.3a). The garment mentioned here is the old one, which is going to be replaced by a new one (see next stanza).
  - **c**. On *suvrdh*-, see SCARLATA 1999: 524–25.
- **15.6.10** [**Anuṣṭubh**] ab: PS only, cd: PS 15.5.7cd, c: ŚS 10.3.1d, d: ŚS 19.32.6b = PS 5.1.7b = VSM 12.99 etc.

ahatenāhato bhava	A
sthira sthireṇa sam bhava	A
pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ	A
sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ	A

Due to an unbeaten [garment], become unbeaten. Being firm, join with a firm one. Destroy those wishing to injure, overcome those who fight [you].

sthira] **Or**, ra sthira **K** sam bhava] **Ku JM RM Mā**, sam bhava [**Ma**] **Pa**, sam bhavaḫ **K** mṛṇīhi] **Or**, mṛṇīha **K** durasyataḥ] **Or**, durasyatu **K** ||] r 10 || 6 || **Ku JM**, || r || 6 || **RM**, || 6 || r 10 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z kāṇḍaḥ Z 2 Z **K** 

ŚS 10.3.1cd

tenā rabhasva tvám sátrūn prá mṛṇīhi durasyatáḥ ||

**ab**. An 'unbeaten garment' is a garment that has never been beaten, i.e. washed; it is a new garment. Cf. ŚB 3.2.1.19 *tadvā áhatam syāt ayātayāmátāyai* 'Likewise, let it be a new garment (lit. an unbeaten one), for the sake of unweakened strength'. This is the first mention of such syntagma in a Samhitā.

Note the chiastic structure *ahaten[a]* — [a]hato vs. *sthira* — *sthirena*.

#### 15.7 To various gods

PS 15.7, 8 and 9 belong together as a sequence of 26 connected formulaic stanzas, split over three hymns of ten, ten and six stanzas respectively. As regards the content, up to 9.4 the composition is strongly unitary and each stanza shows the same pattern: a god, goddess or a deified entity is invoked as  $\acute{a}dhyak\dot{s}a$ - 'supervisor, overlord' of a particular sphere of influence and requested, in a refrain repeated in every stanza, to favour the person speaking  $(m\bar{a})$  while performing the sacrifice.

Similar passages occur also in other texts: the table below gives an account of the correspondences between the PS and the parallel texts:

PS 15.7/8/9	ŚS 5.24	TS 3.4.5	PārGS 1.5.10	ŚāṅkhŚS 4.10.1
Mitra/Earth	Savitar/Impulses	Agni/Beings	Agni/Beings	Agni/Earth
Varuņa/Waters	Agni/Trees	Indra/The eldest/the chiefs	Indra/Powers	Vāyu/Intermediate Space
Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Heaven and Earth/Givers	Yama/Earth	Yama/Earth	Savitar/Impulses
Sūrya/Heaven	Varuṇa/Waters	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Sūrya/Constellations
Moon/Constellations	Mitra and Varuṇa/Rain	Sūrya/Heaven	Sūrya/Heaven	Soma/Herbs
Vasu/Years	Maruts/Mountains	Moon/Constellations	Moon/Constellations	Tvaṣṭar/Fuel sticks and Forms
Year/Seasons	Soma/Plants	Brhaspati/Brahman	Brhaspati/Brahman	Mitra/Truths
Agni/Trees	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Mitra/Truths	Mitra/Truths	Varuņa/Laws
Indra/Rites	Sūrya/Sight	Varuṇa/Waters	Varuṇa/Waters	Indra/The eldest/the chiefs
Savitar/Impulses	Moon/Constellations	Ocean/Rivers	Ocean/Streams	Prajapati/Creatures
Viṣṇu/Mountains	Indra/Heaven	Food/Lordship	Food/Lordship	
Tvaşţar/Forms	Maruts'Father/Cattle	Soma/Herbs	Soma/Herbs	
Rudra/Cattle	Death/Creatures	Savitar/Impulses	Savitar/Impulses	
Soma/Milk	Yama/Fathers	Rudra/Cattle	Rudra/Cattle	
Parjanya/Herbs	Old time Fathers/ Young time Fathers /Fathers/ Grandfathers	Tvaṣṭar/Forms	Tvaṣṭar/Forms	
Ocean/Rivers		Viṣṇu/Mountains	Viṣṇu/Mountains	
Syllable Him/Sāmans		Maruts/Troops	Maruts/Troops	
Sarasvatī/[Ritual] Words		Fathers/Grandfathers	Fathers/Grandfathers	
Pūṣan/Paths				
Gayatrī/Metres				
Brhaspati/Gods				
Prajāpati/Offspring				
Yama/Fathers				
Old time Fathers/				
Young time Fathers /				
Grandfathers				

It is clear from the table that the order of the invocations and the combination of the deities with their sphere of influence is rather free. The ŚS and the PS have six pairings in common,

but in general the PS has an independent status, in that it has the most extensive list of invocations and, as stated above, addresses every god as *ádhyakṣa*-, instead of *ádhipati*- 'lord, overlord' as do all the other parallel texts. Moreover, the PS differs also in the number and order of the actions mentioned in the refrain.

It is almost impossible to determine the precise ritual application of these hymns: the generic enumeration of priestly actions in the refrain and in the last stanza does not help in defining any practical use, and seems indeed to intentionally leave these hymns apt for several rites. Cf. the use of ŚS 5.24 in the KauśŚ in a royal coronation (17.30), in the nuptial ceremonies (78.11), in the ājyatantra (137.42). As pointed out by WHITNEY 1905: 263, "many of the verses [of ŚS 5.24] appear also in VaitS, with oblations to the various divinities mentioned, in different ceremonies: thus, in the  $\bar{a}grayana$ , vs. 7 (8.7); in the  $c\bar{a}turm\bar{a}sy\bar{a}ni$ , vss. 1–3 [1 = PS 15.7.10; 2 = PS 15.7.8], 6, 7 (8.13), 4 [= PS 15.7.2] (8.22), 9 (9.27); in the agnistoma, vss. 8 [= PS 15.7.3] (19.2), 5 (19.3), 11 (19.11)". Note further that ŚāńkhŚS 4.10.1 states that, after the word svaha, at the end of the list, "he inserts whatever is his special wish" (transl. Caland). According to my interpretation, the inclusion of this hymn — composed by extending a pre-existing set of invocations — in a collection of royal compositions could have been prompted by the word  $purodh\dot{a}$ - 'office of a purohita' used in the refrain. This word, which never occurs in the RV and is attested for the first time in these parallel Atharvanic hymns, in the TS<sup>43</sup> and then in the Brāhmanas (TB 27.1.2, AB 7.31.2, 8.24.1, 27, ŚB 4.1.4.5, PB 13.3.12; 9.27), perfectly meets the Paippalādins' need to present themselves as best suited to be the king's purohitas.

A concatenating link with the preceding hymn is provided by the names of the gods Agni, Indra, Tvaṣṭar, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, Bṛhaspati and Sūrya. The word *devahūtyām* in 7.1c and 9.4c corresponds with *devahūtim* in 6.7c.

## **15.7.1** [Formula] bcde $\approx$ ŚS 5.24.1bcde

```
mitraḥ pṛthivyā adhyakṣaḥ | P
sa māvatv asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy P
asyām purodhāyām asyām devahūtyām asyām ākūtyām asyām āśiṣi svāhā || P
```

Mitra is the overlord of the earth: let him help me in this formula, in this rite, in this office of a purohita, in this invocation of the gods, in this intention, in this prayer. Hail!

mitraḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, mitra **Mā**, mittraḥ **K** pṛthivyā adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pṛthivyādhyakṣaḥ **JM**, pṛthivyā adhyakṣa **K** devahūtyām] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, devahū{syā}tyām **JM** asyām āśiṣi] **RM**, asyām āśiṣiḥ **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, asyam (?) āśiṣas **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 1 **Z K** 

ŚS 5.24.1

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The occurences in the TS are of particular interest, as they show that becoming a purohita was a highly desirable goal, but also a very difficult rank to obtain. In TS 2.1.2, a sacrifice is prescribed to one 'who has a dispute for the office of the Purohita': āgneyám kṛṣṇágrīvam ắ labheta saumyám babhrúm āgneyám kṛṣṇágrīvam purodhắyām spárdhamānas 'He who has a dispute for a Purohitaship should offer (a beast) with a black neck to Agni, a brown one to Soma, and one with a black neck to Agni' (Keith). In TS 7.4.1 it is Bṛhaspati himself who wishes to gain the office of the purohita of the gods: bṛhaspátir akāmayata śrán me devā dádhīran gácheyam purodhām íti 'Brhaspati desired, 'May the gods have faith in me, and may I become their Purohita'' (Keith).

savitá prasavánām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu | asmín bráhmaṇy asmín kármaṇy asyấm purodhấyām asyấm pratiṣṭhấyām asyấm cíttyām asyấm ấkūtyām asyấm āśíṣy asyấm deváhūtyām svấhā ||

Bhattacharya edits ssvāhā in c.

**a**. At the end of every pāda **a** of this hymn, **K** reads *adhyakṣa*. For some remarks on the word *ádhyakṣa*-, involving the idea of protection, control and guardianship, see GONDA 1969: 66–68. The translations 'overseer', 'supervisor' are no doubt more literal, but it would be difficult to make a corresponding feminine to them (cf. stanzas 8.8 and 8.10 below). This stanza is quoted in a sentence at AthPrāy 1.2.<sup>44</sup>

**bcde**. The refrain that follows the invocations differs considerably in the parallel texts. The  $\dot{S}S$  has the more complete list of actions, two more than the PS ( $pratisth\dot{a}$ -, citti-), from which it also differs in the order of the items. The TS has a shorter list, which was then taken into the other texts. On the word  $\bar{a}\dot{s}is$ - 'prayer, blessing, wish', see GONDA 1989. In this refrain, the term "seems to denote [...] one of the results of a correct performance of the ceremony" (ibid. p. 12; cf. the introduction to this hymn).

P

Varuna is the overlord of waters etc. etc.

varuņo] K, varņo Or adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || ] JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, Z 2 Z K

ŚS 5.24.4

váruņo 'pām ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

**a**. For the very frequent association of Varuṇa with the waters, see LÜDERS 1951 (especially pp. 46–54).

Vāyu is the overlord of intermediate space etc. etc.

vāyur] **Or**, vāyar **K** antarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, a{·}ntarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ **RM**, antakṣasyādhyakṣaḥ **JM**, antarikṣasyādhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.8

vāyúr antárikṣasyấdhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

**a**. Cf. TB 3.2.1 *vāyúr vá antárikṣasyádhyakṣaḥ* 'Vāyu is the overlord of the intermediate space.

## **15.7.4** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.9$

14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> GONDA 1969: 68 mentions AthPrāy 1.2, but makes no reference to PS 15.7.1.

sūryo divo (')dhyaksah °°° |

P

Sūrya is the overlord of heaven etc. etc.

divo] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, di{r}vo **JM**, divau **K** dhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, dhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.9

súryaś cáksusām ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### **15.7.5** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.10$

candramā nakṣatrāṇām adhyakṣaḥ °°° |

P

The Moon is the overlord of the constellations etc. etc.

nakṣatrāṇām] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, nakṣatrāṇā{dhya}m **JM**, nakṣattrāṇām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, adhyakṣaḥ {sa mā || sarasvatī vācam} **Mā**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, |**RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.10

candrámā nákṣatrāṇām ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### 15.7.6 [Formula]

vasuḥ samvatsarāṇām adhyakṣaḥ °°° |

P

Vasu is the overlord of the years etc. etc.

vasuḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vasu **Mā**, vasus **K** samvatsarāṇām] **K**, samvatsarāṇām **Or** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

#### 15.7.7 [Formula]

\*saṁvatsara ṛtunām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° |

Р

The Year is the overlord of the seasons etc. etc.

<sup>+</sup>samvatsara] samvatsaraḥ K, samvatsara JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, samva{t·}(+ tsa)ra Ku adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K ∥] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 7 Z K

**a**. On the natural relation of the year with the seasons, which are its main component parts, see GONDA 1984a: 18–19.

#### **15.7.8** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS} 5.24.2$

agnir vanaspatīnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ° ||

P

Agni is the overlord of the trees etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || ] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 8 Z K

ŚS 5.24.2

agnír vánaspátīnām ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.9** [Formula]  $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.11$ 

P

Indra is the overlord of rites etc. etc.

indraḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], indra(+ ḥ) **Pa**, indraḥ **K** karmaṇām] **K Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, karmaṇāmām **JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 9 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.11

índro divó 'dhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.10** [Formula]  $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.1$ 

savitā prasavānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° °  $^{\circ}$   $\parallel$ 

P

Savitar is the overlord of the impulses etc. etc.

savitā] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, savitāḥ **Mā** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] || r 10 || 7 || **Ku JM**, || r | 7 || **RM**, || 7 || r 10 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 10 Z kāṇḍā 3 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.1

savitá prasavánām ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### 15.8. To various gods (continued)

**15.8.1** [Formula]  $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.6$ 

viṣṇuḥ parvatānām adhyakṣaḥ °°° |

P

Vișnu is the overlord of mountains etc. etc.

viṣṇuḥ] **Or**, viṣṇuḥ **K** parvatānām] **Or**, parvatānām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], | **Ku RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.24.6

marútah párvatānām ádhipatayas té māvantu etc. etc.

**a**. The god Viṣṇu is called *giriṣṭhā*- 'mountain-abiding' at RV 1.154.2b and *giriṣṣtt*- 'mountain-dwelling' at RV 1.154.3b. Cf. also RV 1.155.1c, where the god is said to stay together with Indra 'on the top of the mountains' (*sānuni pārvatānām*). On the connection of Viṣṇu with the mountains, see Gonda 1954: 73 ff. (with note 10). He points out that in the ŚS version of this stanza, the Maruts are called the overlords of the mountains, but the fact that the PS agrees here with the TS and the PārGS gives the impression that the text of the ŚS has been revised.

#### 15.8.2 [Formula]

tvaştā rūpāṇām adhyakṣaḥ °°° "

P

Tvaṣṭar is the overlord of forms etc. etc.

rūpāṇām] K, r̄pāṇām Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, rpāṇām JM RM adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K ||] JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, Z 2 Z K

a. The god Tvaṣṭar, who was thought to have fashioned, among other things, Indra's cudgel (see, e.g., RV 5.31.4b), was considered the creator of all forms of beings, both human and animal. Cf. RV 1.188.9ab tváṣṭā rūpáṇi hí prabhúḥ paśūn víśvān samānajé 'For the lord Tvaṣṭar has created the forms, all the animals', 10.184.1b tváṣṭā rūpáṇi piṁśatu 'Let Tvaṣṭar fashion the forms', ŚS 2.26.1c = PS 2.12.1c tváṣṭā yéṣāṁ rūpadheyāni véda 'whose forms and figures Tvaṣṭar knows', TB 1.1.7 tváṣṭā vái rūpáṇām īśe 'Tvaṣṭar indeed rules over the forms' etc. See also PS 1.75.3 tvaṣṭā rūpeṇa ... tvā ... abhi rakṣatu iha 'Let Tvaṣṭar protect you here with the form' and ŚB 11.4.3.17 tváṣṭā rūpáṇāṁ rūpakṛd rūpáṇatiḥ rūpéṇa paśūn asmín yajñe máyi dadhātu 'Let Tvaṣṭar, the fashioner of forms, the lord of forms, bestow cattle with form on me at this worship'.

**15.8.3** [Formula]  $\approx \text{ŚS} 5.24.12$ 

rudrah paśūnām adhyakṣah °°°° ||

P

Rudra is the overlord of cattle etc. etc.

rudraḥ] K, rdraḥ Or adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || ] JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, om. K

#### ŚS 5.24.12

marútām pitá paśūnám ádhipatih sá māvatu etc. etc.

## **15.8.4** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.7$

somah payasām adhyaksah °°°° ||

Р

Soma is the overlord of milk etc. etc.

somaḥ] Or, somaḥ K adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || ] JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, Z K

ŚS 5.24.7

sómo vīrúdhām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### 15.8.5 [Formula]

parjanya oṣadhīnām adhyakṣaḥ °°° |

P

Parjanya is the overlord of herbs etc. etc.

parjanya] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, paryanya Mā adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K  $\parallel$ ] Ku JM Pa Mā [Ma],  $\mid$  RM, Z K

Note the reverse order of stanzas 5 and 6 in **K**.

#### 15.8.6 [Formula]

samudro nadīnām adhyakṣaḥ °°° "

Р

The Ocean is the overlord of rivers etc. etc

samudro] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, s{u}amudro **JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], | **Ku RM**, Z **K** 

#### 15.8.7 [Formula]

himkāraḥ sāmnām adhyakṣaḥ °°° |

P

The syllable *hin* is the overlord of the Sāmans etc. etc.

himkāraḥ] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, himkāmraḥ **RM**, hikāmraḥ **Pa**, himkāras **K** sāmnām] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, sā{·}mnām **JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** mā] **Or**, mām **K** (**RM** sa māva) ||] **Ku JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], | **RM**, Z **K** 

a. On the mystic importance of the syllable hin in the recitation of Sāmans, see e.g. PB 6.8.7 eṣa vai sāmnām raso yad dhinkāro 'The him-sound in the sap of the sāmans' (Caland), ŚB 1.4.1.1 himkrtyánvāha nāsāmā yajñò 'stīti vā āhurna vā áhimkrtya sāma gīyate ma yád dhimkaróti tád dhimkārásya rūpám kriyate praṇavénaiva sāmno rūpam úpagacatyom om íty eténo hāsyaiṣa sárva eva sásāmā yajñó bhavati 'He recites after uttering (the syllable) 'Hin!'. Sacrifice, they say, is not (performed) without the Sāman; and neither is the Sāman chanted

without 'Hin' having been uttered. By his uttering 'Hin!' the peculiar nature ( $r\bar{u}pam$ ) of the word 'Hin' is produced (in the sacrifice); and by the sacred syllable (om) it assumes the nature of the Sāman. By uttering 'Om! Om!' this his entire sacrifice becomes endowed with the Sāman' (Eggeling). Cf. also ŚB 2.2.4.12 and 13.2.3.2, in which the connection between the sacred syllable and the Sāmans is repeated in mythological and sacrificial contexts. For other occurrences of the word, see VISHVA BANDHU 1966: 860-61.

#### 15.8.8 [Formula]

sarasvatī vācām adhyakṣā °°°° ||

P

Sarasvatī is the mistress of words etc. etc.

vācām] **Ku** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vācāvācām **Mā**, vām **JM** adhyakṣā] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** sā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, {hā} sā **Pa** mā] **Or**, mām **K** ||] **Ku JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], | **RM**, Z **K** 

a. On the goddess Sarasvatī and her association with  $v\dot{a}c$ -, see Gonda 1985: 5–67, and more recently Ludvik 2007: 11–91. No one, however, has ever quoted this PS mantra in tracing the history of the connection beetwen Sarasvatī and  $v\dot{a}c$ -. I think that this mantra may indeed be rather important, as it testifies to an intermediate phase, in which the identification of the riverine goddess with  $v\dot{a}c$ - is still incomplete, but the goddess herself is already regarded as presiding over ritual speech.

#### 15.8.9 [Formula]

pūṣā pathīnām adhyakṣaḥ °°° "

P

Pūṣan is the overlord of paths etc. etc.

pathīnām] **Or**, patīnām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, adhyakṣā **Mā**, adhyakṣa **K** sa mā] **Or**, sa mām sa mām **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**], | **Ku RM JM Pa**, Z kā Z 4 Z **K** 

a. Note that **K** reads *patīnām* 'of the lords'. GONDA 1985: 100 quotes PS 15.8.9 with the reading of **K** *patīnām* and adds, "Notice that Pūṣan occupies the last place which often is the place of honour. If, what seems probable, he is the *adhyakṣa* of human lords, landowners, owners of homesteads, lords of (races of) men, human communities and so on (cf., e.g., RV. 4, 57,2; 7, 54, 1–3; 8, 13,9; 8, 95, 4), this would accord very well with the hypothesis that he was, in a way, a communal or 'national' god". Gonda's statements need now to be corrected. First of all, he quotes our stanza as "AVP 15, 8,8", but this is indeed the ninth of the hymn (even though **K** confuses the order of stanzas 5 and 6, this one is again numbered correctly as 9). Secondly, Pūṣan does not really occupy the last place, because there is another stanza after this that is not found in **K**. At any rate, this hymn belongs together with the next, so that the invocations go on without interruption. Finally, although it is possible that **K** and **Or** have preserved two different variants here, and that Gonda's idea is tenable, it must also be observed that *-th*- is sometimes written as *-t*- in **K**, therefore this could be a phonetic mistake (it is a more common mistake, at least, than *-t-> -th-* in **Or**).

The genitive plural  $path\bar{n}\dot{a}m$  (from a strong stem  $panth\bar{a}$ -, weak stem pathi- before consonant, path- before vowel) is an innovation — the regular form being  $path\dot{a}m$  — due to the

fact that the stem *pathi*- was extended to plural cases with vowel-initial termination (cf. AiGr. III, § 159, p. 308). The form  $path\bar{n}n$  is already attested once in RV 5.1.11c and once in SS 9.5.19d. In the PS, besides this passage, it is attested also at 2.39.4d = 16.99.5d (in both cases, **K** has the correct form  $path\bar{n}n\bar{a}m$ ). On the association of  $P\bar{u}$  an with Sarasvat $\bar{u}$  (see the previous stanza) and of  $P\bar{u}$  and with paths, see GONDA 1985: 79–81, 82 ff., 145–164.

#### 15.8.10 [Formula]

gāyatrī chandasām adhyakṣā  $\circ \circ \circ \parallel$ 

P

The  $g\bar{a}yatr\bar{\imath}$  is the mistress of the metres etc. etc.

 $\parallel \mid \mid \mid \stackrel{.}{r} \mid 10 \parallel 8 \parallel \textbf{Ku JM}, \parallel \stackrel{.}{r} \mid 8 \mid \textbf{RM}, \parallel 8 \parallel \stackrel{.}{r} \mid 10 \parallel \textbf{M} \mathbf{\bar{a}} \; [\textbf{Ma}] \; \textbf{Pa}$ 

This stanza is not found in **K**.

#### 15.9. To various gods (continued)

#### 15.9.1 [Formula]

brhaspatir devānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° | P

Brhaspati is the overlord of gods etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K

#### **15.9.2** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS} 5.24.13$

prajāpatiḥ prajānām adhyakṣaḥ °°° || P

Prajāpati is the overlord of offspring etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K

ŚS 5.24.13

mṛtyúḥ prajānām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### **15.9.3** [Formula] $\approx \text{ŚS } 5.24.14$

yamaḥ pitr̄nām adhyakṣaḥ °°° || P

Yama is the overlord of the Fathers etc. etc.

pitṛṇām] Or, pitṛṇām K adhyakṣaḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || | | Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K

ŚS 5.24.14

yamáh pitrnám ádhipatih sá mavatu etc. etc.

#### **15.9.4** [**Prose**] ŚS 5.24.15–17

pitaraḥ pare (')varas tatas <sup>+</sup>tatāmahaḥ | P
te māvantv asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy P
asyām purodhāyām asyām devahūtyām asyām ākūtyām asyām āśiṣi svāhā || P

The Fathers of old time, the later Father, the Grandfather: let them help me in this formula, in this action, in this priestly office, in this invocation of the gods, in this intention, in this prayer. Hail!

varas tatas] K, varas thatas Or \*tatāmahaḥ] thatāmahaḥ Or, tadāmahas K māvantv] K Ku, māvamtv JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa purodhāyām asyām] Or, om. K ākūtyām] K Or, ākūyām JM āśiṣi] RM, āśiṣiḥ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, āśiṣas K || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K

ŚS 5.24.15

pitárah páre te māvantu etc. etc.

ŚS 5.24.16

tatá ávare te māvantu etc. etc.

#### ŚS 5.24.17

tatás tatāmahās te māvantu etc. etc.

- **a**. This sentence combines the beginnings of ŚS 5.24.15, 16 and 17. The ŚS has *avare*, with the pronominal ending, instead of *avaras* in the PS. On the occurrence of nominal endings beside pronominal endings in *ávara*-, cf. AiGr. III, § 264, p. 579, §§ 267–68, pp. 586–88.
  - **c**. The sequence  $purodh\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$  asy $\bar{a}m$  was lost in **K**.

#### **15.9.5** [**Prose**] cf. KS 38.12:113.3–5; AVPrāy 6.3:137.4

devānām devā deveşv adhidevāḥ parā kramadhvam | P prathamā dvitīyeṣu dvitīyeṣu dvitīyeṣu || P

O gods of the gods, O gods among the gods, O presiding deities, step forward. The first ones among the second ones, the second ones among the third ones.

devā devē, V. devā deve, V. devē, V. devē

#### KS 38.12:113.3-5

brhaspatipurohitā devā dévānām devā dévāḥ prathamajā dévā devéṣu párā kramadhvam prathamā dvitīyeṣu dvitīyās trtīyeṣu trír ekādaśās trayastrimśā ánu va ārabha idám śakeyam yád idám karómi (...)

This and the following stanza seem to be a later addition to the invocations of the previous stanzas. They are both quoted in AVPrāy 6.3  $dev\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$  devah iti dve; as noted by GRIFFITHS forthc., "The addition iti dve in AVPrāy tends to corroborate the identification with PS 15.9.5—6, because those two mantras stand at the end of PS 15.9 and anyhow no other possible identifications are available in known mantra collections. It follows that deva needs to be emended to  $dev\bar{a}$ ".

**a**. **K** reads *prakramadhvam*, but above this word, in the manuscript, there is the correction *parā*, not mentioned in Bhattacharya's critical apparatus. The Orissa manuscripts and the KS also read *parākramadhvam*, so I adopt it in the text. Cf. also PS 15.12.8b, where **K** reads *prākramadhvam* but the Orissa manuscripts *parā kramadhvam*: as suggested by GOTŌ 1987: 117, *parā kramadhvam* is probably the authentic reading in both cases.

In the KS, the first group of gods is qualified as 'having Brhaspati as a *purohita*', a specification that is not found in the PS.

#### **15.9.6** [**Prose**] cf. KS 38.12 (quoted above)

trir ekādaśā viśve vaiśvānarā	P
mahi mahānto anu mārabhadhvam	P
idam śakeyam yad idam kṛṇomi svāhā	P

The thrice eleven, all belonging to all men; being great, grasp me from behind! May I be capable of [doing] this that I'm doing here. Hail!

ekādaśā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, {o}ekādaśā **Pa** viśve] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, viśv{o}e **Pa** mahi mahānto] **Or**, sahi | śānto **K** anu] **K**, na **Or** mārabhadhvam] mārabhadhvam **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**], mārabhadhmam **JM**, mārabhadh{y}vam **Pa**, va ārabhadhvam **K** ||] || r 6 || 9 || **Ku JM**, | r | 9 || **RM**, || 9 || r 6 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ZZ 6 Z kāṇḍaḥ 5 ZZ ZZ ity atharvaṇikapāippalādayaḥ śākhāyam pañcadaśaḥ kāṇḍe dvitīyo nuvākaḥ ZZ **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *na mā rabhadhvam* in **b**.

**b**. In the reading *sahi śānto* (Bhattacharya's critical apparatus erroneously reads *sānto*), **K** exhibits a case of frequent confusion between -*m*- and -*s*- and possibly omits the second initial *ma*-.

At the end of the line, I adopt the reading of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts (as regards the reading of **K**, note that m/v vacillation is very frequent in this manuscript). Cf. also ŚS 2.12.5b *víśve devāso ánu mā rabhadhvam* 'O All-gods, grasp me from behind'. On the compound verb  $anv-\bar{a}$ -rambh-, see JAMISON 1991–92: 140 note 6, who translates it as 'to grasp from behind', noting that it is a "common ritual posture, especially characteristic of the  $yajam\bar{a}na$ 's wife".

#### 15.10. Weapons of war

PS 15.10, 11 and 12 constitute a long hymn, which closes the collection of "royal hymns" in this kāṇḍa. It contains 31 stanzas, 24 of which are borrowed from the RV and are also attested in many Yajurvedic texts (TS, MS, VSM, ĀpŚS) and in the ŚS. The tables below show the correspondences between the PS and the parallel texts:

PS	Parallel texts
15.10.1	$= \text{RV } 6.75.1 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.1 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:185.10 - 11 = \text{VSM } 29.38 = \bar{\text{ApSS }} 20.16.4 \text{ etc.}$
15.10.2	$\approx \text{RV } 6.75.2 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.1 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:185.12 - 13 = \text{VSM } 29.39 = \text{ApŚS } 20.16.5 \text{ etc.}$
15.10.3	$\approx$ RV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1. = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = $\bar{A}p\dot{S}S$ 20.16.6 etc.
15.10.4	$\approx$ RV 6.75.4 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = $\bar{A}p\dot{S}S$ 20.16.7 etc.
15.10.5	$\approx \text{ RV } 6.75.5 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.2 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:186.1-2 = \text{VSM } 29.42 = \bar{\text{ApSS }} 20.16.8 \text{ etc.}$
15.10.6	$=$ $\mathbb{R}$ V 6.75.6 $=$ TS 4.6.6.2 $=$ MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 $=$ VSM 29.43 $=$ $\mathbb{A}$ pŚS 20.16.9 etc.
15.10.7	$\approx$ RV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = $\bar{A}p\dot{S}S$ 20.16.10 etc.
15.10.8	= RV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45
15.10.9	$=$ $\mathbb{R}$ V 6.75.9 $=$ TS 4.6.6.3 $=$ MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 $=$ VSM 29.46 $=$ $\mathbb{A}$ pŚS 20.16.11
15.10.10	= RV 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47

PS	Parallel texts
15.11.1	= $\mathbb{R}$ V 10.42–43–44.11 = $\mathbb{S}$ S 20.17.11, 94.11 = $\mathbb{T}$ S 3.3.11.1 $\approx \mathbb{S}$ S 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = $\mathbb{P}$ S 16.8.11, KauśS
13.11.1	59.19 = VaitS 25.2
15.11.2	$\approx$ RV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc.
15.11.3	PS only
15.11.4	$\approx \text{RV } 6.75.14 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.5 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:187.4-5 = \text{VSM } 29.51 \text{ etc.}$
15.11.5	$\approx \text{RV } 6.75.13 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.5 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:187.6-7 = \text{VSM } 29.50$
15.11.6	$\approx \text{RV } 6.47.27 = \text{ŚS } 6.125.2 \approx \text{TS } 4.6.6.6 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:186.9 - 10 = \text{VSM } 29.53$
15.11.7	$= \text{RV } 6.47.28 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.6 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:186. \ 11-12 = \text{VSM } 29.54 \approx \text{ŚS } 6.125.3$
15.11.8	$=$ $\mathbb{R}$ V 6.47.26 $=$ $\mathbb{S}$ S 6.125.1 $=$ TS 4.6.6.5 $=$ MS 3.16.3:186.7–8, VSM 29.52, $\mathbb{A}$ p $\mathbb{S}$ S 20.16.13
15.11.9	$= \text{RV } 6.47.29 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.6 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:187. 8-9 = \text{VSM } 29.55 \approx \text{ŚS } 6.126.1$
15.11.10	$=$ ŚS $6.126.2 \approx \text{RV} 6.47.30 = \text{MS} 3.16.3:187. 10–11 = \text{VSM} 29.56 \approx \text{TS} 4.6.6.7$

PS	Parallel texts
15.12.1	$\approx \text{ŚS } 6.126.3 \approx \text{RV } 6.47.31 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.7 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:187. 12-13 = \text{VSM } 29.57 = \bar{\text{ApSS }} 20.16.14 \text{ etc.}$
15.12.2	≈ RV 5.31.1
15.12.3	PS only
15.12.4	a: RV 1.163.1c, b: cf. ŚS 6.126.3a, PS 15.11.8a c: RV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c
15.12.5	≈ RV 1.95.7
15.12.6	PS only
15.12.7	PS only
15.12.8	PS only
15.12.9	PS only
15.12.10	PS only
15.12.11	PS only

RV 6.47 and 6.75 (from which six and thirteen stanzas are borrowed, respectively) served the redactor as the source for this hymn; they both focus on the theme of war and warfare and are used during the ritual of the *Aśvamedha*. In the stanzas borrowed from RV 6.75, all the war equipment and weapons of war are mentioned and praised (armour, bow, bowstring, bow-ends,

quiver, reins, horses, chariot, spears, arrows, hand-guard, horsewhip, drum), while the six stanzas from 6.47 celebrate the chariot and the drum.

The last five stanzas of the hymn are unattested elsewhere in Vedic literature, and appear to be an original addition made by the Paippalādins. They offer a detailed description of the warchariot (*rátha*-), providing important evidence for the reconstruction of its various components and use in ancient times.

The connection between this hymn, the figure of the king, and the Paippalādins' aim to present themselves as the best *purohita*s is made clear by ĀśvGS 3.12; here, the abovementioned stanzas from RV 6.47 and 6.75, found also in the PS, are quoted as mantras to be recited by a king's *purohita* in a ritual performed before and during a battle, while the king, who is the chief of the army, is wearing his armour and weapons, and later while he is standing on his chariot and fighting.

In this hymn, many of the same gods as in the preceding hymn are named, such as Indra, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati. There are other concatenating links: *pitaro* in 10.9a and *pitaraḥ* in 10.10a corresponds with *pitṛṇām* in 9.3a and *pitaraḥ* in 9.4a; *pṛthivyāḥ* in 11.6a and *pṛthivīm* in 11.9a with *pṛthivyā* in 7.1a; *divas* in 11.6a with *divo* in 7.4a; *vanaspatibhyaḥ* in 11.6b and *vanaspate* in 11.8a with *vanaspatīnām* in 7.8a; *apām* in 11.6c with 'pām in 7.2a; *paśubhir* in 12.2c with *paśūnām* in 8.3a; *prathamaḥ* in 12.2d with *prathamā* in 9.5b; *prajay[ā]* in 12.8d with *prajānām* in 9.2a; the compound verb *parā kramadhvam* in 12.8b occurs also in 9.5a.

## **15.10.1** [**Triṣṭubh**] $^{\text{R}}$ V 6.75.1 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.10–11 = VSM 29.38 = $^{\text{A}}$ pŚS 20.16.4 etc.

jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratīkam	Tb
yad varmī yāti samadām upasthe	Tb
anāviddhayā tan <sub>ú</sub> và jaya tvam	*+Tb
sa tvā varmaņo mahimā pipartu	+Tb

[His] appearance becomes like that of a rain cloud, when the armoured one drives [the chariot] into the lap of battles. You must be victorious with an unwounded body. Let the might of your armour protect you.

jīmūtasyeva] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jīmūtasyema **JM** pratīkam] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pratīdam **Mā** yad] **Or**, yyad **K** varmī] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ūrmī **RM**, urmī **K** samadām] **Or**, sumanā **K** jaya] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jayā **Ku** pipartu] piparttu **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pirttu **JM**, pipantu **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z **K** 

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RV 6.75.1 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.10–11 = VSM 29.38 = \bar{A}p\dot{S}S 20.16.4 etc. jīmútasyeva bhavati prátīkam yád varmí yáti samádām upásthe | ánāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvám sá tvā vármaņo mahimá pipartu ||
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Bhattacharya does not record in the critical apparatus the reading  $prat\bar{\imath}dam$  of  $M\bar{a}$ .

**a**. This stanza depicts an armed warrior approaching a battle, and focuses on the splendour and might of the armour that covers his body and protects him. The simile between the warrior and the rain cloud can be interpreted on two levels: on a concrete level, it may refer to the exterior appearance of the warrior, whose armour, probably made of black leather straps,

resembles in its colour a dark raincloud (thus DANGE 1966: 125). Metaphorically, the simile could also suggest the fury of the warrior and his menacing and war-like attitude. The double meaning is possibly intentional.

- **b.** Lubotsky 2002: 64 suggests that this pāda may contain a word play on the words *varmín*'armoured' and *upástha* 'lap'. At PS 5.11.1cd *tatas te putro jāyatām sa varmī goṣu yudhyatām*'From that [embryo] may a son be born from you, may he, the armoured one, fight for cows',
  "Possibly *varmin* lit. 'mailed', 'armoured' refers to a favourable omen when a child is born with a part of the membrane on him, 'born with a caul', cf. Russ. *rodit'sja v rubaške/soročke*'to be born lucky', lit. 'to be born in a shirt', Dutch *met de helm geboren* 'idem', lit. 'born with a helmet on', etc''. The Italian expression *nato con la camicia* 'idem', lit. 'born with the shirt', could be added to the list.
- **c**. Note the accent on  $tanv\dot{a}$ . This is the only accented word in the entire  $k\bar{a}nda$  in **K**; the *anudātta* is marked under the akṣara -ta-, and the *svarita* under the akṣara  $-nv\bar{a}$ -.

## **15.10.2** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ $\mathbb{R}$ V 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.4:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = $\overline{A}p\acute{S}S$ 20.16.5 etc.

dhanvanā gā dhanvanājim jayema	+Ta
dhanvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema	+Tb
dhanuḥ śatror apakāmaṁ kṛṇotu	Ta
dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema	+Tb

With the bow [may we win] cows, with the bow may we win the fight; with the bow may we win sharp battles; let the bow cause evil to the enemy; with the bow may we win all directions.

dhanvanājim] **Ku JM RM**, dhanvanājim **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dhanvanāji **K** tīvrāḥ] **Or**, tīvrā **K** samado] **Or**, samadho **K** jayema] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yayema **Mā** dhanuḥ] **Or**, dhanuś **K** śatror] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], śattror **K**, jatror **Pa** sarvāḥ] **Or**, sarvāḥ **K** pradiśo] **K**, pṛtanā **Or** jayema] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yayema **Mā** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 2 Z **K** 

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RV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.4:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚS 20.16.5 etc. dhánvanā gấ dhánvanājím jayema dhánvanā tīvrấḥ samádo jayema | dhánuḥ śátror apakāmám kṛṇoti dhánvanā sárvāḥ pradíśo (MS pṛtanā) jayema ||
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Bhattacharya edits *dhanvanājiñ jayema* in **a** and *pṛtanā jayema* in **d**.

- c. All the parallel passages have  $k_r noti$  instead of  $k_r notu$ , but the imperative is plausible here, and fits the context well; therefore, I adopt it. The genitive śatror is a genitivus objectivus. For a parallel construction of  $apak\bar{a}m\acute{a}$  'abhorrence, displeasure' plus verb  $k_r$ -, cf. ŚS 2.12.5d = PS 2.5.5d, in which the same word is found in connection with the agent-noun  $kart\acute{a}r$ -:  $p\bar{a}p\acute{a}m\acute{a}$  rchatv  $apak\bar{a}m\acute{a}sya$   $kart\acute{a}$  'Der Täter von Abscheulichem soll ins Unglück kommen' (Zehnder).
- **d**. I edit the reading of **K** *pradiśo*, which is in all the parallel passages (with the exception of the MS) and is confirmed by the evidence of the *Āṅgirasa* tradition (cf. SANDERSON 2007: 213 n. 47). It seems reasonable that also the Orissa manuscripts had once the reading *pradiśo* and that the text was alter altered under the influence of passages like PS 5.4.1d *tvayādhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jayema* 'With you as overlord may we win the battles'.

Note the five-fold anaphora and the polyptoton on the name of the bow; the complexity of the rhetorical structure of this stanza is increased by the three-fold anaphora of the verb *jayema* at the end of pādas **a**, **b** and **d** (see WATKINS 1995: 22).

**15.10.3** [**Triṣṭubh**]  $\approx$  RV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1. = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.

vakṣyantīved ā ganīganti karṇam	Ta
priyam sakhāyam pariṣasvajānā	Tb
yoşeva śińkte vitatādhi dhanvañ	Tb
j <sub>i</sub> yā iyam samiti pārayantī	*+#Ta

As a woman who is just about to speak, she repeatedly approaches the ear, embracing [her] beloved friend; being outstretched on the bow, she whispers, this bowstring that makes [us] victorious in battle.

ganīganti] **Or**, ganīgamti **K** priyam] **Or**, priyam **K**, pariṣasvajānā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], paripasvajānā **Pa**, pariṣasvajānām **K** śiṅkte] śiṅkte **Or**, ṣiṅkte **K** dhanvañ] **K**, dhanvam **Or** iyam] **Or**, iyam **K** pārayantī] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pārayamtī **Mā**, pārantī **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM K** 

RV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc. vakṣyántīvéd ấ ganīganti kárṇam priyám sákhāyam pariṣasvajānấ | yóṣeva śiṅkte vítatấdhi dhánvañ jyấ iyám sámane pāráyantī ||

- a. On the meaning of the future participle *vakṣyántī*, which tends to be equivalent to a substantive, see RENOU 1961: 12. The intensive *ganīganti* has a simple iterative value here (see SCHAEFER 1994: 91, 113). The simile between the bowstring and a woman whispering into her lover's ear is due to the fact that the bowstring "was drawn back to ear, unlike the Homeric method of drawing it to the breast; discharged from the ear, the arrow was called *karṇayoni*, 'having the ear as its point of origin'. The twang of the bowstring sounded sweet to the ear of the warrior" (SINGH 1965: 93). Cf. also ŚS 5.21.9ab, in which the sound of the bowstring is mentioned again: *jyāghoṣā dundubháyo 'bhí krośantu yā díśaḥ* 'Let the sounds of the bowstring [and] the drums yell to all directions'.
- **d**. Note the interesting variant of the PS, which has *samiti* instead of *sámane* in the parallel texts. The form is a locative singular from *samit* 'battle', regularly attested in epic and classical Sanskrit. Since from the RV onwards several other *sám*-derivatives are attested in the meaning of 'battle, fight, conflict' (*samád* (RV 47×), *sámana* (RV 15×), *samáraṇa* (RV 5×), *sámiti* (RV 6×), *samithá* (RV 17×), *samīká* (RV 5×) etc.), the use of *samit* in this hymn may indicate that this modification to the text took place in the late Vedic period; note also that it produces a slightly awkward sequence of three short syllables in the break.

**15.10.4** [**Triṣṭubh**]  $\approx \text{RV } 6.75.4 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.2 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:185.16-17 = \text{VSM } 29.41 = \bar{\text{ApŚS}} 20.16.7 \text{ etc.}$ 

te ācarantī samaneva yoṣā	Tb
māteva putram piprtām upasthe	Tb
apa śatrūn vidhyatām samvidāne	+Ta
ārtnī ime visphurantī amitrān	Ta

Let these two, like a young woman approaching to a rendez-vous, protect [us] like a mother [protects] her child in the lap. Let these two bow-ends, coming together, jumping asunder, pierce the enemies, the foes.

te] **Or**, tī **K** ācarantī] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ārantī **RM** śatrūn] **Or**, śatr̄n **K** vidhyatām] **Or**, vidyatām **K** samvidāne] **K**, samvidāne **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, s{i}amvidāne **JM**, samvidano **RM** ārtnī] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ā{·}rtnī **Pa**, ārtmī **K** visphurantī] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, visphu{m}rantī **JM**, visphumrantī **Pa** amitrān] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, amitān **JM**, amittrān **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, om. **K** 

RV 6.75.4 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚS 20.16.7 etc. té ācárantī sámaneva yóṣā mātéva putrám bibhṛtām upásthe | ápa sátrūn vidhyatām (MS vidhyataḥ) samvidāné ấrtnī imé viṣphurántī amítrān ||

- **a**. This simile is also found at  $\mathbb{R}V$  4.58.8ab = PS 8.13.8ab *abhí pravanta sámaneva yóṣāḥ kalyāṇyàḥ smáyamānāso agním* 'They hasten toward Agni as beautiful, smiling women [hasten] to a rendez-vous', and  $\mathbb{R}V$  10.168.2b  $\approx$  PS 1.107.2b *áinam gachanti sámanam ná* (PS *samaneva*) *yóṣāḥ* 'They come to him as women to a rendez-vous'.
- **b**. On the expression *pipṛtām upásthe*, see PS 5.37.8d *kumāram jātam pipṛtām upasthe* 'Let the two preserve a boy, when born, in [her] lap' (LUBOTSKY 2002: 173). The meaning 'protect, preserve' of the root *pṛ* in this context has been suggested by KUIPER 1938: 322–323 [= 1997: 168–169] (note 1): "Auch dort, wo von Mutter und Kind die Rede ist, ist an der Bedeutung 'schützen' festzuhalten, z. B. AS V, 26, 5 *mātéva putrám pipṛtehá yuktáḥ* (verfehlt Whitney 'as a mother her son, fill ye here, joined'), wofür II, 28, 5c *mātévāsmā adite śárma yacha* 'gewähre ihm, A. wie eine Mutter Schutz' und besonders Praśn. Up. 2,13 *māteva putrān rakṣasva* zu vergleichen ist".

See also PS 15.10.1d above (sa tvā varmaņo mahimā pipartu 'Let the might of your armour protect you') and RV 1.156.3b rtásya gárbham janúṣā pipartana 'protect the germ of order from its birth on', ŚS 9.1.5c tám jātám táruṇam piparti mātā 'The mather protects this tender one, when born', 12.1.12c parjányaḥ pitā sá u naḥ pipartu 'Parjanya is the father; so let him protect us', etc.

The parallel passages have  $bibhrt\bar{a}m$  'let the two carry', and it is possible that the PS variant here is due to perseveration from  $k\bar{a}n\bar{d}a$  five (note also the same position in the cadence).

On the alternation between the roots  $p_r$ - and  $bh_r$ - in the meaning 'to protect', see WACKERNAGEL 1926: 11, Ved. Var. II, 64 and PS 15.20.1b.

**cd**. This stanza is full of words expressing the idea of movement: observe the opposition of the two compound verbs samvid- 'meet, come together', which echoes  $\bar{a}car$ - 'approach' and samana- 'meeting, reunion' in pāda **a**, and visphur- 'dart asunder', which describes the opposite movements of the bow-ends when an arrow is being shot.

**15.10.5** [**Triṣṭubh**]  $\approx \text{RV } 6.75.5 = \text{TS } 4.6.6.2 = \text{MS } 3.16.3:186.1-2 = \text{VSM } 29.42 = \bar{\text{ApŚS}} 20.16.8 \text{ etc.}$ 

bahvīnām pitā bahur asya putro	+Tb
vyacaḥ kṛṇoti samado (')vagatya	Tb
iṣudhiḥ <sup>+</sup> saṅkāḥ pṛtanāś ca sarvāḥ	+Tb
prsthe ninaddho jayati prasūtaḥ	Tb

It is the father of many, manifold is his son. It makes free space, when it has gone down to battles. Fastened on the back, put to action, the quiver wins all fights and battles.

pitā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, pitā{m} **Pa** putro] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, putrau **JM** vyacaḥ] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vya(+ca)ḥ **Ku**, vyāca **K** kṛṇoti] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], kṛṇotri **Pa**, kṛṇotu **RM K** samado] **Or**, samidho **K** vagatya] **Or**, vagatyā **K** iṣudhiḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], isu(→ṣu)dhiḥ **Pa**, iṣudhis **K** \*saṅkāḥ] śaṅkāḥ **Or**, saṁkaḫ **K** sarvāḥ] **Or**, sarvāḫ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K** 

 $\mathbb{R}$ V 6.75.5 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.1–2 = VSM 29.42 =  $\mathbb{A}$ pŚS 20.16.8 etc. bahvīnām (MS bahūnām) pitā bahúr asya putráś ciścā kṛṇoti sámanāvagátya | işudhíḥ sáṅkāḥ pṛṭanāś ca sárvāḥ pṛṣṭhé nínaddho jayati prásūtaḥ ||

- **a**. The quiver is called father of many daughters, i.e. arrows. And who's the son?
- **b**. Note the variant of **K** krnotu. I prefer the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, which is found in all the parallel passages. This pāda is a variant of RV 6.75.5b  $ciśc\acute{a}$  krnoti  $s\acute{a}man\bar{a}vag\acute{a}tya$  'It clatters when it has gone down to the meetings'.

**15.10.6** [**Jagatī**]  $\mathbb{R}V$  6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 =  $\mathbb{A}p$ \$S 20.16.9 etc.

rathe tiṣṭhan nayati vājinaḥ puro	+#Ja
yatrayatra kāmayate suṣārathiḥ	+#Ja
abhīśūnām mahimānam panāyata	Ja
manaḥ paścād anu yachanti raśmayaḥ	Ja

Standing on the chariot, a skillful charioteer leads his horses forward, wherever he wants. Praise the strength of the bridles: the reins follow the [charioteer's] mind behind.

tiṣṭhan] JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, tiṣṭhaṁ Ku RM vājinaḥ] Or, vājinaḥ K suṣārathiḥ] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, śuṣārathiḥ JM, ṣuśārathiḥ RM, susārathiḥ K abhīśūnāṁ] Or, abhaśūnāṁ K paścād] Or, paścad K yachanti] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, yachanti Ku, yaśchanti K || Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM JM K

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RV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3-4 = VSM 29.43 = \bar{A}p\dot{S}S 20.16.9 etc. ráthe tísthan nayati vājínah puró yátra yatra kāmáyate suṣārathíh | abhīśūnām mahimánam panāyata mánah paścád ánu yachanti raśmáyah ||
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**ab**. The term *sārathi*- is the usual name of the charioteer. It is well known that a chariot carried at least two people, the warrior and the driver. The warrior, standing on the left, was provided with a seat, which he could use when engaged in warfare to balance himself and handle the bow or other weapons. The charioteer, on the other hand, had no seat provided, as proved by passages like this one, in which he is mentioned as the one 'standing on the chariot' (*rathe tiṣṭhan*); another name of the charioteer, *sthātar*-, literaly means 'the one who stands', and emphasizes the distinction between him and the warrior, although the driver's epithets must be considered honorific titles, since he was usually one of the noble warrior's kinsmen.

It is interesting to point out that the Avestan compound  $ra\theta a\bar{e}\bar{s}t\bar{a}$ , which literally means 'the one who stands in the chariot', and corresponds to Vedic  $rathesth\hat{a}$ - 'id.', has become in the

Avesta the technical term to designate a member of the warrior class (see KELLENS 1974: 231–32), rather than the charioteer.

cd. I translate *abhīśu*- with 'bridle' and *raśmí*- with 'reins' in order to maintain the distinction between the two words, which are in fact synonymous, in the translation. Geldner, too, adopts two slightly different translations, namely 'Zügel' and 'Leitseile'. The word *abhīśu*- is "a common Vedic word denoting 'the reins' or 'bridle' of the chariot horses. The use of the plural is due to the fact the two or four horses [...] were yoked to the car" (MACDONELL — KEITH 1912: 29), while *raśmí*- primarly means 'string, rope, cord', and only secondarily acquires the sense of 'rein'. On the synonymous meaning of the two words, cf. ŚB 5.4.3.14 *ābhīśavo vái raśmáyas* 'Ropes/reins [are] the bridle' and RAU 1983: 31 n. 110, who opposes Geldner's translation, as if it implied a distinction between two different objects.

# **15.10.7** [**Triṣṭubh/Jagatī**] $\approx$ RV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚS 20.16.10 etc.

tīvrān ghoṣān kṛṇvatāṁ vṛṣapāṇayo	#Ja
aśvā rathebhiḥ saha vājayantaḥ	*Tb
<sup>+</sup> avakrāmantaḥ prapadair amitrān	Tb
kṣiṇanti <sup>+</sup> śatrūm̈r anapavyayantaḥ	Tb

Let the strong-hooved horses make sharp noises, racing together with the chariots. Trampling on the foes with their forefeet, they destroy the enemies withouth removing [their armours].

kṛṇvatāmi] **Or**, kṛṇute **K** vṛṣapāṇayo] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vṛṣapāśayo **Mā** rathebhiḥ] **Or**, rathebhis **K** <sup>+</sup>avakrāmantaḥ] apakrāmantaḥ **Or**, om. **K** prapadair] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, prava(→pa)dair **Ku**, pramṛṇīn **K** amitrān] **Or**, amittrāt **K** <sup>+</sup>śatrūmr **Or**, śatṛm **K** anapavyayantaḥ] **Or**, apavyayantaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

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RV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚS 20.16.10 etc. tīvrấn ghóṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣapāṇayó 'śvā ráthebhiḥ sahá vājáyantaḥ | avakrấmantaḥ prápadair amítrān kṣiṇánti śátrūṁr ánapavyayantaḥ ||
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Bhattacharya edits *kṛṇvatām* in **a** and *apakrāmantaḥ* in **c**.

- **a**. Bhattacharya edits the reading of the Orissa manuscripts  $k_r nvat \bar{a}m$ , while all the parallel passages have  $k_r nvat e$ . Again (cf. PS 15.10.2c above), it is not easy to decide whether the imperative or the indicative (could  $k_r nut e$  of **K** be a corruption of  $k_r nvat e$ ?) would better fit the context here.
- **b**. The participle *vājáyant* here has the intransitive meaning 'to race, seek booty' (see JAMISON 1983: 51).
- **c**. The form of the Orissa manuscripts *apakrāmantaḥ* is unacceptable here, on account of the meaning of the verb *apakram* 'to step away, retreat, retire from'. The preverb *apa* was probably drawn here from pāda **d**, by a mistake of the copyist (the same confusion between *apa* and *ava* is found also at PS 7.5.12d). **K** omits this word, therefore I emend in accordance with the parallel texts.
- **d**. It is difficult to give an accurate translation of the participle *ánapavyayantaḥ*. Most of the existing translations are based on the interpretation given by Sāyaṇa, who explained the word with the gloss [a]palāyamānā 'not fleeing'. Roth's translation 'nicht ablassend' has been

accepted by Grassmann; Geldner and Griffith translate, respectively, 'ohne sich zu entziehen (?)' and 'never flinching'; OLDENBERG 1909: 416 renders it 'nicht entkleidend', and explains 'd. h. von ihnen das sie umhüllende Gewand des Unheils nicht abtuend'. RENOU 1938: 71 translates 'sans lächer prise'. BERGAIGNE 1884: 51–54 has dedicated to this word a short study, which has been characterized by Oldenberg "weniger glücklich". First he points out the opposition between the term *prapadair* 'with the forefeet', and the epithet *vṛṣapāṇayas*, which he interprets as 'whose hands are male', i.e. 'the stones for pressing soma'; then he concludes, "Au vers 6,75,7, en mème temps qu'ils ont les pierres du pressoir à la main, ils triomphent des ennemis en les écrasant de la pointe du pied, et sans se dégager d'eux, c'est-à-dire en somme, sans le moindre effort, *et sans changer de place*".

The meaning of the verb *apavyaya*- 'to uncover' is confirmed by a passage like  $\[mathbb{R}\]$ V 7.81.1cd, which describes the action of Uṣas removing the mantle of the darkness that covers the earth during the night: *ápo máhi vyayati cákṣase támo jyótiṣ kṛṇoti sūnárī* 'Removing the mighty darkness, so that we may see, the beautiful lady makes the light'.

Therefore, in our hymns the image is that of the horses that can kill the enemies by keeping their strong hoofs upon them, even without removing their armour.

#### **15.10.8** [**Tristubh**] RV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45

rathavāhanam havir asya nāma	+Tb
yatrāyudham nihitam asya varma	+#Ta
tatrā ratham upa śagmam sadema	Ta
viśvāhā vayam sumanasyamānāḥ	+Tb

[There is] a chariot-frame — oblation is its name — where his weapon [and] armour are placed. There may we, well disposed, put again and again the mighty chariot.

nihitam asya]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , nihatasya  $\mathbf{K}$  varma]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M}$   $\mathbf{\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$   $\mathbf{K}$ , {ma}varma  $\mathbf{JM}$  viśvāhā]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , viśvāphā( $\rightarrow$ hā)  $\mathbf{K}$  vayam)  $\mathbf{Or}$ , vayam  $\mathbf{K}$  ||]  $\mathbf{M}$   $\mathbf{\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$ , |  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$ ,  $\mathbf{Z}$   $\mathbf{K}$ 

RV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45 rathaváhanam havír asya náma yátráyudham níhitam asya várma | tátrā rátham úpa śagmám sadema viśváhā vayám sumanasyámānāh ||

a. The word *rathaváhana*- has long been debated, at least since the remarks made by ROTH 1888: 95–97. Most scholars agree that *rathaváhana*- indicates a movable frame or platform to hold and convey the chariot (when not in use). SPARREBOOM 1985: 29–30, commenting on the late occurrence of the word at BaudhŚS 11.6:72.8 (= KātyŚS 15.6.28 *rathavāhaṇa*), follows the interpretation of the Vedic Index, and explains it as a conveyor or stand for the chariot, drawn by two horses or oxen (*rathavāhanavāhau*). He adds, "It may be considered strange that a light, two-wheeled vehicle is transported on another car. Could a chariot, fit for battle or race, not be driven to the scene of action by itself? Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this usage was just for the sake of adding more lustre to the stateliness of the chariot, which was, for this reason, delivered to the starting place of the race-course with due ceremonial pomp and circumstance. However, circumstantial evidence appears to suggest another, and very practical explanation: the race car was disassembled when not used [...]. The wheels would have to be set into position just before the start". KAZANAS 2002: 308–309 proposes a different

interpretation, observing that in the hymn there is no mention that the wheels and the box of the chariot were separate; in his opinion, "It seems reasonable that  $rathav \acute{a}hana$ — is the chariot itself, lauded  $per\ se$  in stanza 8," and he adds, "There is no need to assume a chariot-carrying platform. [...] Furthermore, this very stanza says that upon this vehicle are already laid (nihita) weaponry ( $\bar{a}yudha$ ) and mail (varma). So O' Flaherty and others say that on this 'platform' weapons are first laid and mail and then chariot itself. Is it likely that practical men would load the chariot (whole or dismantled) afterwards and thus possibly damage the weaponry? Of course not."

Kazanas's arguments are, however, rather weak.

First of all, other attestations of the word make it clear that *rathavāhana*- cannot indicate the chariot itself, but must refer to a movable chariot frame: cf. i.a. PS 4.27.2e, *jaitrāyod yātu rathavāhanam te* 'Let him drive up your chariot-frame, for victory' (similar to PS 20.51.1ab *ut tabhnāmi gavām kṣīram ud ratham rathavāhanam* 'I honour the milk of the cows, the chariot, the chariot-frame'), PS 5.29.4a *rathe varco rathavāhane ca varca* 'The splendor in the chariot and the splendor in the chariot-frame', and especially PS 19.29.8ab *mayi te mana āhitam ratha iva rathavāhane* 'Your mind is placed upon me like the chariot upon the chariot-frame', in which a simile describes the action of putting the chariot on the chariot frame.

There are no indications of the size of the chariot frame, so Kazanas' claim that putting the chariot on the chariot frame would have damaged the weapons already laid on it is simply a guess.

Moreover, Kazanas proposes several translations of the compound, but all of them are inaccurate. He renders it as 'the conveying by the chariot', 'the chariot's [function of] conveying' or even 'the conveyor that is the chariot', giving inadequate attention to the accent. The compound *rathaváhana*- is a *tatpuruṣa* of the type *kravyaváhana*- 'carrying corpses' (said of Agni at RV 10.16.11a), *madhuváhana*- 'carrying sweet things' (said of the chariot of the Aśvins at RV. 1.34.2; 157.3; 10.41.2b) and *devaváhana*- 'carrying the gods' (said of horses at ŚB 1.4.1.30).

Finally, although Sparreboom himself admits that in the texts there are no explicit references to the dismantling of the chariot, this hypothesis is nevertheless highly probable. As concerns the dismantling of the wheels, cf. RAU 1983: 28: "Die Räder ließen sich leicht abnehmen, aufstecken bzw. ersetzen".

I interpret the expression *havir asya nāma* as a 'naming-parenthesis' construction, on which see DUNKEL 1982, who also discusses the evidence from Old Persian, Hittite and Celtic. In Dunkel's opinion, this Rgvedic passage "assures the existence of nominal naming-parentheses not only for Indo-Iranian, but also, together with the evidence from Hittite and Celtic, for the popular level of speech in Indo-European itself" (p. 19). Cf. PS 15.11.6d *haviṣā rathaṁ yaja* 'Worship the chariot with an oblation'.

Note also the similar, parallel cadences of pādas  $\mathbf{a}$  and  $\mathbf{b}$ :  $asya \, n\bar{a}ma - asya \, varma$  (as noted by Geldner  $ad \, loc.$ , the first asya refers to  $rathav\bar{a}hanam$ , the second one to the warrior). Furthermore, this stanza features prominent alliteration of the nasal sounds m, which occur twelve times in total, giving the idea of a murmured recitation.

**cd**. KAZANAS 2002: 309 notes that the verb *upasad*- has an intransitive meaning 'to sit by/near/on', and in a figurative sense 'revere, approach respectfully'. These meanings have been adopted by Keith and Griffith, who translate, respectively, 'May we sit on the strong car', and 'Let us honour the helpful car'. Cf. also PS 1.92.3a *agnim sāmityam upa sam sadema* 'Zum Versammlungsfeuer möchten wir uns sitzen' (Zehnder). Other translators attribute to the verb

a transitive meaning that is usually inherent only in causative forms (*úpasādaya*- 'make sit on, place upon'): Geldner translates 'auf den wollen wir der Wagon setzen', O'Flaherty (1981: 237) 'on it let us place the working chariot'. The context indeed suggests that the verb *upasad*-, contrary to the usual intransitive meaning (18× in the RV), is used here, exceptionally, in a transitive sense. Cf. CASARETTO 2004 [2010]: 79.

The use of the optative, together with the occurrence of the adverb  $vi\acute{s}v\bar{a}h\bar{a}$  and the adjective  $sumanasy\acute{a}m\bar{a}n\bar{a}h$  in the following pāda, express the wish that the warriors, in good spirit, may repeat over and over again the action of putting the dismantled, mighty chariot on the platform; that would mean that they are victorious and their equipment undamaged.

In all its Rgvedic and Atharvavedic attestations, the present participle medium *sumanasyámānāḥ* occurs always at the end of the verse, as it features a perfect Triṣṭubh cadence.

# **15.10.9** [**Triṣṭubh**] RV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11

svāduṣaṁsadaḥ pitaro vayodhāḥ	+Tb
krchreśritaḥ śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ	+#Ta
citrasenā işubalā amrdhrāḥ	+(#)Ta
satovīrā uravo vrātasāhāḥ	Ta

The Fathers [were] sitting around the sweet [Soma], bestowers of strength, supporters in danger, powerful, profound; having glittering spears, having strength in their arrows, tireless, equally brave, broad, victorious over the enemies.

svāduṣamsadaḥ] Or, svāduṣamsadaḥ K krchreśritaḥ] Or, krśchresrjaś K śaktīvanto] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, śakt{i}īvanto Pa citrasenā JOr, cittrasenā K iṣubalā] Ku JM RM [Ma] K, iṣubala Pa, iṣumalā Mā amrdhrāḥ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, amudhrāḥ Mā, avrdhrās K vrātasāhāḥ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, vrātasāhā JM ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, |RM K

**b.** On the compound *krchreśrít*-, see SCARLATA 1999: 543–544. While the meaning of the first member is clear — it is the locative singular of *krchrá*- n. 'danger, difficulty, calamity' — the exact sense of the second member *śrit*- is difficult to determine. One possibility is to postulate an abstract noun \**śrit*- f., meaning 'refuge, rest, support', and render the compound as '(who are) refuges in dangers'; this is the solution adopted by Geldner, who translates, 'Sie sind [...] die Zuflucht in der Not' and by RENOU 1938: 71, who renders 'Appui dans le péril'. Otherwise, one can consider the second member to be the root *śri*- 'to cause to lean or rest on, lay on or in', used in its causative and intransitive sense; the meaning of the compound would then be 'leaning on each other in danger', 'supporting each other in danger'. Since the compound refers to the Fathers, who are already dead, I prefer the first solution.

According to ARNOLD 1905: 127, a short -i- must be restored in śaktīvanto, and this restoration would give a regular anapestic rhythm to the break (cf. the parallel case quoted by

Arnold, RV 5.31.6c *śáktīvo yád vibhárā ródasī ubhé*, which is, however, less significant, for a second long syllable in the opening of a Jagatī pāda is highly favored).

# **15.10.10** [**Triṣṭubh/Jagatī**] RV 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47, d: RV 6.71.3d, ŚS 19.47.6a, PS 6.20.6a etc.

brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitaraḥ som <sub>i</sub> yāsaḥ	*+Ta
śive no dyāvāpṛthivī anehasā	Jcb
pūṣā naḥ pātu duritād r̥tāvr̥dho	Jb
rakṣā <sup>+</sup> mākir ṇo aghaśaṁsa īśata	Jb

O Brahmins, O Fathers, O Soma-lovers, let heaven and earth, incomparable, be propitious to us. Let Pūṣan protect us from danger, O increasers of the Rta. Give protection! Let no slanderer become our master.

brāhmaṇāsaḥ] **Or**, brāhmaṇāsaḥ **K** pitaraḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pitarasaḥ **JM**, pitaras **K** no] **Or**, na **K** naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** duritād] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, duritā{vṛ}d **JM** rakṣā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ra **JM** †mākir ṇo] sākir ṇo **K**, mākṛṇvo **Or** aghaśaṁsa] **Ku RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, aghasaṁsa **JM Mā** ||] || r 10 || 10 || **Ku**, || r || 10 || **JM**, || r || 10 || **RM**, || 10 || r 10 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z kāṇḍaḥ Z 1 Z **K** 

RV 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15-16 = VSM 29.47 bráhmaṇāsaḥ pítaraḥ sómyāsaḥ śivé no dyávāpṛthivī anehásā (MS ubhé stām) | pūṣá naḥ pātu duritád ṛtāvṛdho rákṣā mákir no aghásamsa īśata ||

RV 6.71.3cd

híranyajihvah suvitáya návyase rákṣā mākir no agháśamsa īśata ||

ŚS 19.47.6ab

rákṣā mākir no agháśamsa īśata mā no duḥśamsa īśata

#### 15.11. Weapons of war (continued)

**15.11.1** [**Triṣṭubh**]  $\[ \mathbb{R}V \] 10.42-44.11 = \[ \mathbb{S}S \] 20.17.11, 94.11 = \[ \mathbb{T}S \] 3.3.11.1 \approx \[ \mathbb{S}S \] 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = \[ \mathbb{P}S \] 16.8.11, KauśS \] 59.19 = VaitS \] 25.2$ 

brhaspatir naḥ pari pātu paścād	Tb
utottarasmād adharād aghāyoḥ	Tb
indraḥ purastād uta madhyato naḥ	Tb
sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ kṛṇotu	Tb

Let Brhaspati protect us all around, from behind, from above and from below against the malignant one. Let Indra, as friend to [his] friends, make free space for us in the front and in the middle.

bṛhaspatir naḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatin naḥ **K** utottarasmād] **Or**, utottarāsmād **K** adharād] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, adharāj **Ku** indraḥ] **Or**, indraḥ **K** naḥ] **Or**, nas **K** varivaḥ] **Or**, varivaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z **K** 

RV 10.42.11 = ŚS 20.17.11,  $94.11 = \text{TS } 3.3.11.1 \approx \text{ŚS } 7.51.1$ , 20.89.11 = PS 16.8.11, KauśS 59.19 = VaitS 25.2

býhaspátir nah pári pātu paścád utóttarasmād ádharād aghāyóḥ líndraḥ purástād utá madhyató nah sákhā sákhibhyo várivaḥ kṛṇotu ll

**d**. As regards the expression *várivaḥ kṛ*- 'to make free space', the PS shows the same alternation, found also in the ŚS, between the use of *várivas*- (3.1.7b, 3.36.5c, 15.11.1d, 19.8.3c, 20.35.1c) and *várīyas*- (16.8.11d, 16.25.9b). According to Ved. Var. II: 130, 258, the form *várivas*- is older, and *várīyas*- "more popular".

**15.11.2** [**Triṣṭubh**]  $\approx$  RV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2-3 = VSM 29.48 etc., b: cf. PS 15.11.8c

suparṇam vaste mṛgo asyā danto	#Tb
gobhiḥ samnaddhā patati prasūtā	Tb
yatrā naraḥ sam ca vi ca dravanti	+#Tb
tatrāsmabhyam işavaḥ śarma yachān	Ta

She wears eagle['s feathers], her teeth are [that of] a deer; bound with (straps made of) cattle, set in motion, she flies. Where the heroes run hither and thither, there let the arrows give us protection.

asyā] **Or**, asyāsi **K** danto] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, datto(→nto) **Pa** gobhiḥ] **Or**, gobhis **K** samnaddhā] **Ku**, sannaddhā **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, sannaddhāsi **K** patati] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pat{i}ati **JM**, pacati **K** naraḥ] **K**, nara **Or** sam] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, san **JM RM K** vi] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pi **JM** tatrāsmabhyam] tatrā(→dā)ssabhyam **K**, tad āsmabhyam **Or** iṣavaḥ] **Or**, ṛṣayaś **K** yachān] yachāt **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yachat **Ku JM RM**, yaśchān **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z **K** 

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\mbox{RV} 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc. suparṇám (MS supárṇam) vaste mṛgó asyā (MS ásyā) dánto góbhiḥ sámnaddhā patati prásūtā | yátrā náraḥ sám ca ví ca drávanti tátrāsmábhyam íṣavaḥ śárma yamsan ||
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Bhattacharya edits *tad* asmabhyam in **d**.

- ab. The arrows were feathered in order to balance them in flight, and were tipped with horn or metal (the RV refers to arrows with poisoned heads of horn 6.75.15 álākta- 'anointed with poison', rúruśīrṣaṇ- 'deer-headed'— as distinct from other metal-headed arrows ibid., áyo műkha- 'having a metal mouth'). The mention of the deer makes it clear that arrows with horn head are intended here. Straps were probably used to fasten the arrow-head to the shaft. On the various kinds of feathers and heads used for arrows, see PANT 1978: 97 ff. The insertion of the feathers into the arrow-shaft must have been a very delicate and important manufacturing process, since we find it in similes as an element of comparison with a work of effective skill: cf. RV 10.18.14ab pratīcīne mām áhanīṣvāḥ parṇām ivā dadhuḥ 'At a later day they will place me like an arrow's feather', ŚS 5.25.1 párvatād divó yóner ángādangāt samābhṛtam / śépo gárbhasya retodhāḥ sárau parṇām ivā dadhat 'Brought together from the mountain, from the sky, from the womb, from every limb, the penis, seed-placer of the embryo, shall place [it] like the feather on the shaft'.
- c. On the syntagma *sam* ca vi ca, see HOFFMANN 1975: 297 note 25: discussing the opposition between *sam* am<sup>i</sup> and vi am<sup>i</sup>, he quotes the parallel constructions sám ca ví ca añc-(RV 5.78.6) 'zusammen- und auseinanderbiegen', sám ca ví ca dru- (RV 6.75.11) and the PS form *samcavica* 'sich vereinigend und trennend' (attested at PS 1.107.6; see the discussion of this passage in HOFFMANN 1975: 232–233).
- **d**. **K** reads  $tatr\bar{a}ssabhyam \, rsayah$ , but in the manuscript there is the correction  $-d\bar{a}$  over the akṣara  $-tr\bar{a}$ -. I adopt the reading of **K** ante correctionem, which is confirmed by all the parallel passages. The reading  $tad \, \bar{a}smabhyam$  of **Or** and of **K** post correctionem implies the interpretation  $\bar{a} + asmabhyam$ , but it might be relevant to point out that the sequence  $tad \, asmabhyam$  occurs three other times in the PS at the beginning of a pāda (at 1.18.1c, 20.7.1c, 2d) and may be due to perseveration in our passage.

The reading of  $\mathbf{K}$  rṣayaḥ 'the seers' represents something between a real variant and a graphic mistake. Note that the PS has the present subjunctive of the root yam-, instead of the sacrist subjunctive of the other versions.

#### **15.11.3** [**Tristubh**] PS only

suparņo vāso yad u sarpir *āsām	Tb
mano hiraṇyam iṣavaḥ patatrī	Tb
<sup>+</sup> māsmām arann amuta āpatantīr	+#Ta
itaḥ prahitāḥ savitar jayantu	+Tb

The cloth is eagle['s feathers], and what of them is melted butter. The intention is the gold, the arrows are a bird. Let them (the arrows), flying from there, not hit us. Being sent forth from here, let them be victorious, O Savitar.

yad u] **Or**, adhi **K** \*āsām] āsā **Or**, **K** iṣavaḥ] **Or**, iṣavaḥ **K** patatrī] **Or**, patattrī **K** 'māsmām] māsmān, **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, masmān, **Mā**, māsmāt **K** arann] **Or**, sadann **K** amuta āpatantīr] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, amuta āpatamtīr **Ku**, asutāpatantī **K** itaḥ] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ita **JM RM**, uta **K** prahitāḥ] **Or**, prahītās **K** savitar] **Or**, savitur **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa JM**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

**ab**. The first half of pāda **a** corresponds in content to the first half of 11.2a, *suparṇam vaste* 'She wears eagle['s feathers]'.

The interpretation of these two pādas is difficult and problematic. It seems that each pāda can be divided into two hemistichs, so that we have four parts: 1) *suparṇo vāso*; 2) *yad u sarpir* \*āsām; 3) *mano hiraṇyam*; 4) *iṣavaḥ patatrī*. Since this stanza describes an arrow, each part should be interpreted as pointing to a feature of an arrow as well.

The first statement is clear: as it has been said in the previous stanza, arrows were provided with feathers on one end, to balance them while flying.

The second phrase (for the syntactic structure, see PS 16.101.8d *vidvān bhūtam yad u bhavyam asya* 'Knowing the past and the future of his') could then refer to the other end of the arrow, the arrowhead. The word *sarpíṣ*-, which means 'clarified butter', seems out of the context, and the only solution I can think of is a reference to some sort of poison smeared on the arrowhead, to make it brighter or smoother.

The third expression reveals the intention (*mánas*-) of the arrow (or of the shooter?) that aims to acquire gold, i.e. a booty.

The last part, *iṣavaḥ patatrī*, combines the name of the arrow with the adjective *patatrín*-'winged, feathered', which can mean 'bird' if used in the masculine (and later also 'arrow', see PW *s.v.*). The comparison between an arrow and a bird is natural and fits the context well, but the syntax is awkward, because the arrows are mentioned in the plural, while *patatrín*- is singular (this is the reason why Bhattacharya edits *pata<u>trī</u>* with underlining).

# **15.11.4** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\approx$ RV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.ahir iva bhogaiḥ pariy eti bāhum/\*Tbjiyāyā hetim apabādhamānaḥ |\*Tbhastaghno viśvā vayunāni vidvānTbpumān pumāmsam pari pātu mṛṭyoḥ ||Tb

Like a snake with his coils, he goes around the arm, keeping away the shot of the bowstring. Let the hand-guard, knowing all expedients (of a bow-battle), as a man protect the man from death.

bhogaiḥ] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, bhaugaiḥ Ku, bhogaiḥ K pary eti] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], pary(+e)ti Pa, paryati K bāhuṁ] Ku Pa Mā [Ma] K, bāh{ū}uṁ JM, bāhūṁ RM hetim] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, ye(→he)tim Ku hastaghno] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, hasto(→sta)ghno Ku viśvā] Or, viśva(→ā) K vayunāni] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, vayunāna Pa pumāṁsaṁ] Ku Pa [Ma] K, puṁmāṁsaṁ Mā, puṁmāsaṁ JM, pumāsaṁ RM mṛṭyoḥ] Or, mṛṭyuḥ K ∥] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa JM, | RM, om. K

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RV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.
áhir iva bhogáiḥ páry eti bāhúm jyấyā hetím paribấdhamānaḥ |
hastaghnó víśvā vayúnāni vidvấn púmān púmāmsam pári pātu viśvátaḥ ||
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**a.** Cf. PS 1.64.3cd *yam tvāhir iva bhogair nākulena parīmasi* 'You, whom we go around with a mongoose's derived [amulet], like a snake [curls itself up] with his coils', and PS 5.10.10d, which shows the same pāda beginning: *ahir ivainān pra ropaya* 'Like a snake, cause them racking pain'.

c. On *hastaghná*-, cf. LÜDERS 1942: 39 [= 1973: 506] (with notes) and PANT 1978: 220. It denotes an archer's guard, worn around the left arm to protect the wearer from the recoil of the bowstring. In the PS, the word occurs here and at 7.7.5c, in the hapax compound *hiraṇyahastaghna*- 'being / having [as it were] a golden hand-guard', which metaphorically refers to the *darbha* plant (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 320–321).

Although the word vayúna- is still described in EWAia as "von umstrittener Bedeutung", the expression viśvā/viśvāni vayunāni vidvān has been meticulously studied by Pischel (PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889: 295-308), who convincingly argued that in this case vayúna- is synonymous with later Sanskrit mārga- 'way', and that the whole expression means 'knowing all ways/paths and means'. In most cases, it refers to Agni, who knows all the paths that lead to heaven, following which he can bring the oblations to the gods. When it is applied to the handguard, the expression means that the hand-guard itself knows all the tricks and expedients of a bow-battle (thus also RENOU 1938: 71, who translates 'Instruit de tous artifices'). The same idea is expressed at SS 5.20.9cd \approx PS 9.27.9cd, which is about the war-drum: śríyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidvān kīrtím bahúbhyo ví hara dvirājé 'Procuring fortune, knowing all expedients (of a battle), distribute fame to many in battle between two kings'. THIEME 1949: 13 ff. proposes another interpretation and renders the word with 'Umhüllung'; although this translation is in some cases very attractive, and would fit well also in our passage, in consideration of the simile with the snake that covers the arm with his coil, Thieme's conclusion that "die Aufgabe des Handschutzes ist doch eine einfache und hat mit den Küsten des Bogenkampfes überhaupt nichts zu tun" (p. 16) is untenable because, as already said, the main task of the handguard is indeed to protect the arm from the recoil of a bowstring.

**d**. Note the interesting variant of PS at the end of this pāda (*mrtyoḥ* instead of *viśvátaḥ* of the RV and all the other texts), which might be due to perseveration from PS 1.108.1d *pūṣāsmān* pari pātu mrtyoḥ 'Let Pūṣan protect us around from death'.

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15.11.5 [Anuṣṭubh] \approx RV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50 

ā 'jaṅghanti sānuv eṣāṁ *+A 

'jaghanāṁ upa jighnate | A 

aśvājani pracodaya- A 

-aśvān samatsu vājaya || A
```

It constantly strikes their back, it slaps their buttocks: O horsewhip, impel the horses, urge [them] in the battles.

+jaṅghanti] jaṁghanti RM Mā [Ma] Pa, jaṁghnanti JM, jaṁgh(→ghn)anti Ku, jaṁghaṁti K sānveṣāṁ Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, sānyeṣāṁ Pa +jaghanāṁ] jaghanāṁ K, jaghanāṅ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, jaghantaṁnāṁṅ, RM jighnate] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, jighrate Ku pracodayāśvān] Ku [Ma] Pa K, pracodayāśvāna JM RM, tra pracodayāśvāna Mā samatsu] Ku Mā [Ma] K, samutsu JM RM, samatsyu Pa vājaya] K, pādaya JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, pāta(→da)ya Ku ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z K

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RV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6−7 = VSM 29.50 ấ jaṅghanti sấnv eṣāṁ jaghánāṁ (MS jaghánaṁ) úpa jighnate (MS jighnatu) | áśvājani prácetasó 'śvān samátsu codaya (MS nodaya) ||
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Bhattacharya edits *pādaya* in **d**.

**abc**. These pādas contain a recurrent word play based on the repetition of two forms of the verb 'to strike', *jaṅghan*- and *jighna*-, a "similar but unrelated word" *jaghana*- 'buttock', and the name of the whip, *aśvājanī*-; as noted by WATKINS 1995: 110, "the effect is a purely phonetic, non-semantic anaphora *A JANghanti... asvAJANi ...* iconic to the whip itself". For a similar expression, cf. PS 5.15.7c *parjanyasya maruta udadhim sānv ā hata* 'Hit, O Maruts, the water-reservoir, the back of Parjanya'.

**d**. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts  $p\bar{a}daya$  'cause to fall' is unsatisfactory in meaning. The parallel texts have codaya 'urge', which in the PS is found in the preceding  $p\bar{a}da$  — pracodaya — instead of pracetaso. I rather adopt the reading of  $\mathbf{K}$   $v\bar{a}jaya$  'urge', 'incite', 'impel', which occurs in a similar passage at TS 1.7.8.4  $\acute{a}\acute{s}v\bar{a}jani$   $v\bar{a}jini$   $v\acute{a}jeşu$   $v\bar{a}jin\bar{v}vaty$   $\acute{a}\acute{s}v\bar{a}nt$   $sam\acute{a}tsu$   $v\bar{a}jaya$  'O horsewhip, strong, driving swift mares in the contest, urge the horses in the battles'.

<b>15.11.6</b> [ <b>Jagatī</b> ] $\approx \text{RV } 6.47.27 = \text{ŚS } 6.125.2 \approx \text{TS } 4.6.6.6 = \text{MS } 3.00 = \text{MS } 3.0$	3.16.3:186.9-10 = VSM 29.53
divas pṛthivyāḥ par <sub>i</sub> y oja ābhṛtam	*Jb
vanaspatibhyaḥ pari saṁbhṛtaṁ sahaḥ	Jb
apām ojmānam pari gobhir *āvrtam	Jb
indrasya vajram haviṣā ratham yaja	Jb

[Its] strength was brought here from heaven, from earth; [its] power was collected from the trees. With an oblation, you must worship the chariot, the power of the waters, bound round with (straps made of) cattle, Indra's cudgel.

divas pṛthivyāḥ] Ku RM [Ma] Mā, di{sa}vas pṛthivyāḥ Pa, disyapṛvyāḥ JM, divaḫ pṛthivyāḥ K oja] K, ota Or ābhṛtaṁ] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, abhṛtaṁ Pa vanaspatibhyaḥ] Or, vanaspatibhyaḥ K pari] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, para JM saṁbhṛtaṁ] Or, sambhṛtaṁ K sahaḥ] Or, saḥ K ojmānaṁ] Or, ojmanaṁ K \*āvṛtam] ābhṛtam Or K vajraṁ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, om. Mā ||] Mā [Ma] Pa JM, | Ku RM, Z 6 Z K

RV 6.47.27 = ŚS 6.125.2 divás pṛthivyấḥ páry ója údbhṛtam vánaspátibhyaḥ páry ấbhṛtam sáhaḥ | apấm ojmấnam pári góbhir ấvṛtam índrasya vájram havíṣā rátham yaja ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *ābhṛtam* in **c**.

- **c**. At the end of the pāda, all the manuscripts read  $\bar{a}bhrtam$ , while the other texts have the better reading  $\bar{a}vrtam$ . I emend the text according to the parallel passages, because  $\bar{a}bhrtam$ , which is difficult to explain in this context ( $pary\acute{a}bhrta$  means 'fetched or extracted from' plus ablative), is almost certainly due to the occurrence of the same form in pāda **a**.
- d. The identification of the chariot with Indra's *vájra* is common in Vedic texts. See e.g. TS 1.7.7.2 = TS 1.8.15.1 *indrasya vájro 'si vártraghnas tváyāyám vṛtrám vadhyāt* 'You are the Vṛtra-killing cudgel of Indra, with you let him slay Vṛtra', TB 1.3.61 *vájro vái ráthaḥ vájreṇaivá díśo 'bhíjayati* 'The chariot is indeed a cudgel, verily with the cudgel he conquers the quarters'. Cf. also PS 15.11.10d and 15.12.4b below, where the chariot is compared with Indra's fist. Although the origin of this identification can be traced to the use of the chariot during Indra's *vṛtrahátya*, the term *vájra* later became common for any identification explaining an act of aggression.

# **15.11.7** [**Triṣṭubh**] $\mathbb{R}V$ 6.47.28 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.11–12 = VSM 29.54 $\approx$ ŚS 6.125.3

indrasya vajro marutām anīkam	Tb
mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhiḥ	Tb
<sup>+</sup> s <sub>a</sub> emām no havyadātim juṣāṇo	*+Ta
deva ratha prati havyā grbhāya	+Ta

[Being] the cudgel of Indra, the front of the Maruts, the embryo of Mitra, the navel of Varuṇa, O god, O chariot, enjoying this oblation of ours, accept the oblations.

marutām] **K**, martām **Or** mitrasya] **Or**, mittrasya **K** varuṇasya] varṇasya **Or**, dharuṇasya **K** \*semām] semān **Or**, sa imā **K** ratha] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rathaḥ **RM** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

RV 6.47.28 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.11–12 = VSM 29.54 índrasya vájro marútām ánīkam mitrásya gárbho váruņasya nấbhiḥ | sémấm no havyádātim juṣāṇó déva ratha práti havyấ gṛbhāya ||

#### ŚS 6.125.3

índrasyáujo marútām ánīkam mitrásya gárbho váruņasya nābhiḥ | sá imām no havyádātim juṣāṇó déva ratha práti havyā gṛbhāya ||

- **a**. The ŚS has the independent and possibly later reading  $\delta jo$ , instead of vajro in all the parallel texts, including the PS.
- **c**. At the beginning of the verse, I adopt with slight adjustement the reading of the Orissa manuscripts,  $sem\bar{a}n$ . The manuscript **K**, by contrast, does not apply the sandhi between sa and  $im\bar{a}$ , nor does the ŚS; Whitney  $ad\ loc$ . comments that all the parallel texts, with the exception of the PS (= **K**), "combine  $s\acute{e}$  ' $m\bar{a}m$  at beginning of c, against the requirement of the meter", but the application of the sandhi is certainly evidence in favour of the authenticity of the reading, rather than an argument against it for metrical reasons.
- **d**. The same expression *práti havyá grbhāya* also occurs in the parallel verse RV 1.91.4d *rájan soma práti havyá grbhāya* 'O king Soma, take/receive the oblation'. Discussing the semantics of the verb *grbhṇāti* and of its derivative *grbhāyati*, SCHRIJVER 1999: 120 quotes RV 6.47.28d among the occurrences in which the context does not allow one to distinguish the subtle difference between '(actively) grab, take' which is the prevalent meaning of the nasal formation and '(passively) receive, get' which is the meaning of the \**ye*-derivative of the nasal present. Both the translations 'take' and 'receive' are conceivable here.

# **15.11.8** [**Triṣṭubh**] RV 6.47.26 = ŚS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8, VSM 29.52, ĀpŚS 20.16.13; c: PS 15.12.4c, cf. PS 15.11.2b

vanaspate vīḍuvango hi bhūyā	*Ta
asmatsakhā prataraṇaḥ suvīraḥ	+#Ta
gobhiḥ <sup>+</sup> samnaddho ratha vīḍayasva-	Tb
-āsthātā te jayatu jet <sub>u</sub> vāni	*+#Ta

O tree, may you indeed become strong in your limbs, having us as friends, furthering, rich in heroes. Bound with (straps made of) cattle, be strong, O chariot! Let him who ascends you win the booty.

vīḍvaṅgo] vīḍvaṅgo **Ku RM Pa [Ma] K**, viḍvaṅgo **JM**, vīḍyaṅgo **Mā** prataraṇaḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, prataraṇa **Mā**, prataraṇas **K** gobhiḥ] **Or**, gobhis **K** \*saṁnaddho] sannaddho **Or**, sannadho **K** ratha] **Or**, asi **K** vīḍayasvāsthātā] **Or**, vīḷayasvāsthātā **K** jetvāni] **JM RM K**, yetvāni **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa JM**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

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RV 6.47.26 = ŚS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8 = VSM 29.52 = ĀpŚS 20.16.13 vánaspate vīḍvàṅgo [MS vīḍváṅgo] hí bhūyấ asmátsakhā pratáraṇaḥ suvʿīraḥ | góbhiḥ sáṁnaddho asi vīḷáyasvāsthātấ te jayatu jétvāni ||
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#### Bhattacharya edits *ratha* in **c**.

- **a**. Note the use of the particle *hi* with the precative, which seems to correspond to the use with the optative at PS15.20.1b and PS 15.20.4a.
- **c**. Bhattacharya adopts the reading of the Orissa manuscripts *ratha*, 'O chariot'. **K** has *asi*, the same reading as the parallel texts. Again, it is not easy to decide which one of the two branches of transmission has preserved the authentic PS reading: the variant *ratha* is probably to be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*.

Note that the imperative  $v\bar{\imath}dayasva$  echoes the compound  $v\bar{\imath}dvanga$ -, which occurs in pāda **a**, and whose first member is the adjective  $v\bar{\imath}du$ - 'strong, firm', derived from the same root  $v\bar{\imath}d$ - 'be strong'.

**d**. The form *jétva*- is a gerundive, which literally means 'to be gained, to be won' (cf. AiGr. II/2, § 526b, p. 712). Reference is made here to the booty, the spoils of battle. Note the *figura etimologica* created by the juxtaposition of *jayatu* and *jetvāni*, both derived from the root *ji*- 'to win, conquer'.

# **15.11.9** [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] $\mathbb{R}V$ 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 $\approx$ ŚS 6.126.1

upa śvāsaya pṛthivīm uta dyām	Tb
purutrā te manutām viṣṭhitam jagat	Ja
sa dundubhe sajūr indreņa devair	+#Ta
dūrād davīyo apa sedha śatrūn	Tb

Make the earth and the sky rumble, let the far-flung people think of you in many places. So, O drum, together with Indra and the gods, chase away the enemies farther than far.

pādas cd om. K• śvāsaya] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, svāśvāsaya JM dyām] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, dyā JM purutrā] K, purtrā Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, putrā JM RM manutām] Or, sunutām K sajūr] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, sajur Mā indreṇa] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], indr(+e)ṇa Pa devair] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, devai JM dūrād] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], d{u}ūrād Pa apa sedha śatrūn] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, śatrūna RM ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa JM, | RM

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\mathbb{R}V 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8−9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŚS 6.126.1 úpa śvāsaya pṛthivīm utá dyām purutrā te manutām (ŚS vanvatām) víṣṭhitam jágat | sá (MS sám) dundubhe sajūr índreṇa deváir dūrād dávīyo ápa sedha śátrūn ||
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**cd**. These two pādas are not found in **K**, "probably by an error of the copyist", as already noticed by WHITNEY 1905: 375 (incidentally, Lanman's remark that Whitney's reference to PS 15 "seems to be an error for Pāipp. VII" is wrong). Possibly the copyist skipped the hemistic because of the similar beginning of pāda **c** in this stanza and in the following one (*sa dundubhe – apa sedha dundubhe*).

The expression  $d\bar{u}r\bar{a}d\ dav\bar{\imath}yo$  'farther than far' is to be compared with two other similar constructions found at PS 15.23.9c  $k\bar{\imath}udr\bar{a}t\ k\bar{\imath}od\bar{\imath}yas\bar{\imath}$  'smaller than small' and 15.23.10b  $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}c\ chivatar\bar{a}$  'more propitious than propitious'. As stated by RENOU 1957: 119 (and 1955: 55, note 1), these expressions are the same as the Rgvedic  $ya\dot{\imath}astaro\ ya\dot{\imath}astaro\ ya\dot{\imath}astar$ 

On (ápa) sedh-, see LUBOTSKY 2004a (especially pp. 328–329).

# **15.11.10** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**] ŚS $6.126.2 \approx \text{RV} \ 6.47.30 = \text{MS} \ 3.16.3:187.10–11 = \text{VSM} \ 29.56 \approx \text{TS} \ 4.6.6.7$

ā krandaya balam ojo na ā dhā	Ta
abhi ṣṭana duritā bādhamānaḥ	Ta
apa sedha dundubhe <sup>+</sup> duchunām ita	+Ja
indrasya muştir asi vīḍayasva	Tb

Shout out to [your] strength, put vigour in us, make a thunder-clap driving away dangers. O drum, chase misfortune away from here. You are the fist of Indra, be strong!

pādas ab om. K • ojo] JM RM, oyo Ku Mā [Ma] Pa dundubhe] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, dudubhe Mā <sup>†</sup>duchunām] dutsunām Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, dutsu(+nā)m JM, duśchunā K muṣṭir] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, pu(→mu)ṣṭir Ku ||] || r 10 || 11 || Ku, || r 9 || 11 || JM, || r || 11 || RM, || 11 || r 10 || Mā [Ma] Pa, Z 10 Z K

#### ŚS 6.126.2

á krandaya bálam ójo na á dhā abhí ṣṭana duritá bádhamānaḥ | ápa sedha dundubhe duchúnām itá índrasya muṣṭír asi vīḍáyasva ||

#### RV 6.47.30 = MS 3.16.3:187.10-11 = VSM 29.56

ā krandaya bálam ójo na ā dhā ní ṣṭanihi duritā bādhamānaḥ | ápa protha dundubhe duchúnā itá índrasya (MS indrasya) muṣṭír asi vīļáyasva ||

Bhattacharya edits \*ducchunām in c (this is not a real emendation; on the spelling -ts- for -ch- in the Orissa manuscripts, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIV-LXV).

**ab**. On  $\bar{a}$  krandaya-, see Jamison 1983: 28, "As Thieme has shown (1929: 28), those forms of krandayati that appear with  $\dot{a}$  (...) actually belong to a denominative built to  $\bar{a}$ krandá-'noise', first encountered in the AV, and should be distinguished from both krandayati 'makes roar' and 'krandayati 'makes race (...).  $\dot{a}$  krandayati is transitive and attested with acc. object", as in our passage.

In the translation, I interpret  $b\acute{a}lam$  as object of  $\bar{a}$  krandaya, but there are also cases that point to an intransitive use of the verb: cf.  $\dot{S}S$  2.36.6a = PS 1.43.1a = 19.41.13a  $\dot{a}$  krandaya dhanapate

'Shout out, O lord of wealth', <sup>45</sup> PS 5.34.2a  $\bar{a}$  krandayolul $\bar{a}$  kuru 'Shout out, wail' (Lubotsky). If we take the verb as intransitive also in our passage, both bálam and ójo would be object of the following the verb (the two words indeed occur very often together, e.g. at RV 5.57.6b, 7.82.2d; PS 1.53.3c, 1.54.2b, 3c, 3.19.2b, 14.7.2c, 19.29.2b, 20.60.1b [= PSK 20.57.1b] etc.).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Both Whitney and Zehnder interpret the verb as transitive, taking the understood object from the following verb. They translate, respectively, 'Shout out [to him], O lord of riches' and 'Ruf (ihn) herbei, Herr des Schätze'. It seems, however, that there is no need to supply the verb with an understood object.

## 15.12. Weapons of war (continued)

**15.12.1** [**Triṣṭubh-Jagatī**]  $\approx$  ŚS 6.126.3  $\approx$  RV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187.12–13 = VSM 29.57 = ĀpŚS 20.16.14 etc.

prāmūñ jayāabhīime jayantu	*+#Tca
ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu	T3
sam aśvaparṇāḥ patayantu no naro	Jb
a'smākam indra rathino jayantu	*Tb

Conquer those ones, let these ones be victorious, let the drum constantly sound clearly. Let our heroes, having horses for wings, fly together. Let our charioteers be victorious, O Indra.

prāmūñ] **Ku Pa Mā** [**Ma**], prāmuñ **JM RM**, prāsūm **K** jayantu] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jayanta **Mā** ketumad] **K**, ketuma **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ketusa **JM** vāvadītu] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vā(+va)dītu **Ku** sam aśvaparṇāḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, samvaśvaparṇāḥ **Mā**, sa naḥ suparṇaḥ **K** patayantu] **Or**, patayanti **K** no] **K**, nā **Or** jayantu] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jayanta **Ku** ||| **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 **K** 

ŚS 6.126.3 prāmūm jayābhīmé jayantu ketumád dundubhír vāvadītu | sám áśvaparṇāḥ patantu no náro 'smākam indra rathíno jayantu ||

RV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187.12-13 = VSM  $29.57 = \bar{A}pŚS$  20.16.14 etc. ámúr aja pratyávartayemáh ketumád dundubhír vāvadīti | sám áśvaparṇāś cáranti (MS cárantu) no náro 'smákam indra rathíno jayantu ||

b. The intensive  $v\bar{a}vad\bar{\imath}tu$  is used with an iterative meaning, which stresses the constant noise of the drums, without reference to the volume of the sound; see SCHAEFER 1994: 177–78: "Hier ist nicht etwa ein einzelner, besonders lauter Paukenschlag gemeint, sondern eine kontinuierliche Abfolge von Paukenschlägen, die die ganze Handlung (Vorbereitung einer Schlacht) begleiten". The translation of *ketumád*- that I propose is rather free. Since *ketú*- means 'bright appearence', 'clearness', 'mark, sign', *ketumád*- would literaly mean 'possessing brightness', 'clear (as a sound)'. On the word *ketú*-, see Dange 1964, who attributes to it the meaning, 'war-banner', 'bright sign', 'symbol that stands at the foremost place'. Dange's opinion that in the expression *ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu*, "We have the picture of the advancing Aryan army wherein the war-drum with the banner occupied the front position" needs to be better explained. The word *ketumád*- is here an adjective in the nueter, used with the function of an adverb, and cannot indicate the war-banner, either on its own or bound to the drum. The same adjective is used in 'acoustic context' also at ŚS 3.19.6cd = PS 1.56.3ab *pṛthag ghóṣā ululáyaḥ ketumánta úd īratām* 'Let the noises, the clear howls rise apart'.

In other words, the notion of *ketú*- meaning 'war-banner' could have been present in the redactor's mind and also intentionally exploited in the context of a war-hymn in order to establish a connection between the senses and images, but it is only hinted at, and not explicitly expressed.

c. There are many variants of the verbal form in this pāda: the RV, the TS and the VSM read caranti, the MS has carantu, the ŚS patantu. The same oscillation between the use of the indicative and the imperative is also found in the readings of the PS (Or patayantu, K)

patayanti); I choose the reading of the Orissa manuscripts because every pāda of this stanza has an imperative and it would be awkward to break this pattern. As for the meaning, the PS agrees with the ŚS, since the causative form of the verb pat- 'to fly' shares the same meaning as the thematic form (see JAMISON 1983: 61–62), but both the readings of the PS are worse for the metre. The use of the verb pat-, which is metaphorically applied to the horsemen, was probably suggested by the epithet aśvaparṇa- 'whose wings are horses', 'having horses for wings', for which see RV 1.88.1ab á vidyúnmadbhir marutah svarkái ráthebhir yāta rstimádbhir áśvaparnaih 'O Maruts, drive here with your chariots possessing lightnings, singing beautifully, furnished with spears, having horses for wings'. According to SINGH 1965: 58, horsemen are mentioned in this passage, and "there is a distinction, clear and deliberate, between the cavalry and the chariots who have gathered together on the field of battle to court the goddess of victory". This idea is hardly possible: the abovementioned Rgvedic passage makes it clear that the epithet *áśvaparṇa*-, when not used metaphorically, refers to the chariot; moreover, it is unlikely that in Vedic times horses were actively used in warfare, as there is no evidence for the use of stirrups, which solely could have provided to the rider the balance and support necessary to fight with the bow or other weapons.

**c**. My translation follows the syntactic pattern of the ŚS, in which the verb *patantu* is unaccented and belongs therefore to a main sentence, connected *per asyndeton* with the following one (another main sentence as well). The RV and the other parallel passages have in pāda **c** an accented verb, which indicates that the sentence is subordinate (in this case, probably a conditional sentence). On this way of expressing conditional clauses without formal indication (i.e. conditional particle), see LEHMANN 1985: 31.

## **15.12.2** [**Tristubh**] $\approx$ RV 5.31.1

indro rathāya prapadam kṛṇotu	Tb
yam adh <sub>i</sub> yaṣṭhān maghavā jayantam	Tb
irya iva paśubhir <sup>+</sup> yuyotu gopā	+(#)T2
arişto jātaḥ prathamaḥ +siṣāsan	Tb

Let Indra make the *prapada* [?] for the chariot, the victorious [chariot] which the bountiful has mounted. Like a zealous shepherd with his animals, let him ward off [dangers], uninjured, [even] when just born, always seeking to gain [goods].

prapadaḿ] **Or**, pramidaḿ **K** adhyaṣṭhān] **Or**, adhyaṣṭhāmʿ **K** jayantamʾ] **K**, jayantāmʾ **Or** irya] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ahir **K Pa** paśubhir] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, paśubhi **JM**, paśubhīr **RM**, paśūn **K** †yuyotu] yujotu **Or**, triryetu **K** jātaḥ] **Or**, yātu **K** prathamaḥ] **Or**, prathamaś **K** †siṣāsan] śiṣāsan **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], śi{sā}ṣāsan **Pa**, śiśāsaṁ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 2 Z **K** 

#### RV 5.31.1

índro ráthāya pravátam kṛṇoti yám adhyásthān maghávā vājayántam | yūthéva paśvó vy ùnoti gopá áriṣṭo yāti prathamáḥ síṣāsan ||

## Bhattacharya edits *jātaḥ* in **d**.

**a**. The Rgvedic version of this pāda, *índro ráthāya pravátam kṛṇoti* 'Indra makes a smooth course for the chariot', is clearer. Apart from the common oscillation between the indicative and the imperative, the reading *prapadam* of the PS is problematic. Both *prapad*- and *prápada*-

mean 'fore part of the foot' and the latter word occurs at 15.10.7c above (*prapadair*), so that the reading *prapadain* in **Or** could possibly be interpreted as perseveration and emended to \**pravatain*. However, it is also possible that *prapad-(a)-*, which is connected to the root *prapad-* 'step forth', refers to a technical term or a specific manoeuvre of the chariot.

**b**. On the secondary -st- in adhyasth $\bar{a}n$ , see AiGr. I, § 205, p. 235 and HOFFMANN 1992: 821. At the end of the verse, **K** reads jayantam (adopted by Bhattacharya), while the Orissa manuscripts read  $jayant\bar{a}m$  (but a 3<sup>rd</sup> plural imperative is syntactically impossible here). I also adopt the text of **K**, but an emendation to \* $v\bar{a}jayantam$ , which is the reading of the RV and is better for the metre, would be perfectly justified; the text found in our manuscripts could be due to haplography ( $maghav\bar{a} - v\bar{a}jayantam$ ). Although  $magh\acute{a}van$ - is one of the commonest epithets of Indra, in the context of this hymn it seems to refer to the king, especially in considerations of the following two pādas.

c. At the beginning of the pāda, **K** and **Pa** read *ahir iva*, clearly due to perseveration from PS 15.11.4a. Then **K** reads *paśūn triryetu*, **Or** *paśubhir yujotu*, which I emend slightly to *paśubhir +yuyotu*. The meaning of this expression is difficult to understand. The expression *iryo gopāḥ* is a fixed phrase (cf. RV 7.13.3b, 8.41.4e, PS 1.18.4b, 5.16.5d etc.). Cf. also ŚS 12.3.11cd = PS 17.37.1cd *sắ no devy adite viśvavāra írya iva gopá abhí rakṣa pakvám* 'O goddess Aditi, bestowing all treasures, defend our cooked (offering) like a zealous shepherd'. I interpret the simile in the sense that the king should protect his subjects from dangers like a zelous and energetic shepherd wards off wild animals and dangerous beasts from his cattle.

As regards the metre, I tentatively read *irya iva* at the beginning of the line, in order to have a dodecasyllable with caesura after the fourth syllable and a Triṣṭubh cadence.

**d**. Both the readings of **Or** ( $j\bar{a}tah$ ) and **K** ( $y\bar{a}tu$ ) are theoretically possible: the reading of **K** could be defended by explaining  $j\bar{a}tah$  of **Or** as perseveration from PS 7.5.4a and making reference to the common expression  $y\bar{a}ti$  prathama- 'he drives at the head', attested, e.g., at  $\mathbb{R}V$  2.27.12c, 8.27.8c. But I prefer the reading of **Or** because the expression prathama-  $j\bar{a}ta$ - 'just born' is also common (e.g.  $\mathbb{R}V$  2.12.1a, 4.1.11a; prathama-  $j\bar{a}yam\bar{a}na$ - at  $\mathbb{R}V$  1.163.1a, 4a, 4.17.7a, 4.50.4a), and moreover it could refer to the 'new birth' of a recently consecrated king, who, as soon as re-born, is able to fulfill his duties and acquire wealth.

The emendation to  $*sis\bar{a}san$  has been proposed by Bhattacharya and is almost certain, since — as has already been noted — the confusion  $\acute{s}/s$  is very common both in the mss. of the  $\acute{S}S$  and the PS, especially in the context before i/y (see KULIKOV 2009: 142, with note 3).

On the meaning of the desiderative  $sis\bar{a}s$ - (from san- 'to acquire'), cf. HEENEN 2006: 239–42, who very aptly notes, "À l'exception de quelques exemples en prose,  $sis\bar{a}s$  marque toujours un effort de volonté et de force physique du sujet vers une victoire. Cet effort n'est pas du tout éphémère, mais au contraire le plus souvent ressenti comme voué au succès de l'action. En particulier le part.  $sis\bar{a}sant$ - [as in our case] est utilisé pour caractériser une personne ou une déité comme agissant de façon efficace ou intransigeante pour la victoire".

It might be added that the verb san- very frequently has  $v \dot{a} ja$ - 'booty' as direct object, so that the victory corresponds to the gaining of the booty itself.

## **15.12.3** [**Tristubh**] PS only

parjanyasyeva stanayitnur \*āśor Tb indrāgn<sub>i</sub>yor <sup>i</sup>va cekhidyate ghoṣo asya | \*/+#°Tb \*sahasravīraḥ śataṁ sasanvān T1c The noise of this quick one strikes constantly like the thunder of Parjanya, like [the thunder] of Indra and Agni. O chariot, being sufficient for a thousand men, having won a hundred, having won great numbers, be gracious here.

parjanyasyeva] Ku RM [Ma] K, pa{rya}rjanyasyeva Pa, paryanyaseva JM, paryanyasyeva Mā stanayitnur] RM [Ma] Pa K, stanaitnur Mā Ku, stanaityur JM \*āśor] āsor Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, āso Mā cekhidyate] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, nekhidyate JM, techidyate K ghoşo] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, gho{s}ṣo Pa asya] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], asyam Pa, sya K \*sahasravīraḥ] sahasrovīraś K, sāhasrovīraḥ Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], sahasrovīraḥ Pa sasanvān] Ku RM [Ma], sasanvan Mā, samanvān JM, sasanān Pa, sisunvān K ayutam] Or, etam K sasanvān] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, samanvān JM, sisunvā K mṛḍeha] Or, mṛḷaya K ||] Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku JM RM, Z 3 Z K

Bhattacharya edits  $\bar{a}\underline{so}r$  in **a** and  $s\bar{a}hasro\ v\bar{i}rah$  in **c**.

- **a**. The emendation to  $*\bar{a}\acute{s}or$  is certain because in both the Śāradā and Oriya scripts the sibilants are often confused.
- **b**. Cf. RV 10.168.1b = PS. 1.107.1b, which is about the chariot of the god Vāyu: *rujánn eti stanáyann asya ghóṣaḥ* 'It keep crashing, the noise of this is thundering'.
- c. Bhattacharya edits the reading of **Or**, but the reading of **K** and **Pa** makes the emendation probable. Cf. 12.9b below and AiGr. II/1, § 7c, p. 25.
- **d.** I adopt Bhattacharya's reading *mṛḍeha*, as it seems the *lectio difficilior*. The reading of **K** *mṛḷaya* would be better for the metre in that it would give a regular Jagatī cadence, and there is no significant difference in meaning between *mṛḍa* and *mṛḍaya* (see JAMISON 1983: 102–103). The metre of the whole stanza, however, is too irregular (pāda **b** is extended, pāda **c** has no caesura) and cannot be used as an argument to settle the issue.

# **15.12.4** [Virāj] a: RV 1.163.1c, b: ŚS 9.4.8b, c: RV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c

śyenasya pakṣau hariṇasya bāhū	Tb
indrasya muṣṭir marutām anīkam	Tb
gobhiḥ saṁnaddho asi vīḍayasva	Tb

The two wings of a falcon, the two forelegs of a deer, the fist of Indra, the front of the Maruts: you are bound with [straps made of] cattle, be strong!

śyenasya] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, śenasya **JM Pa** bāhū] **Or**, bahū **K** indrasya muṣṭir] **Or**, āśvinor aṁsau **K** marutām] **K**, maṛtām **Or** gobhiḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, gobhi **JM**, gobhis **K** saṁnaddho] sannaddho **Or K** asi] **K**, asa **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, asī **Mā** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, om. **K** 

RV 1.163.1c śyenásya pakṣā hariṇásya bāhū́

RV 6.47.26cd góbhiḥ sáṁnaddho asi vīļáyasvāsthātā́ te jayatu jétvāni ||

PS 15.11.8cd gobhih samnaddho ratha vīdayasva āsthātā te jayatu jetvāni ||

**b.** At the beginning of the verse, **K** reads  $\bar{a}$ svinor amsau 'the (two) shoulder of the two Aśvins', which was probably triggered here from PS 16.24.7ab  $^+$ indrasyaujo varuṇasya  $b\bar{a}h\bar{u}$  aśvinor amsau marutām iyam kakut 'The strength of Indra, the (two) arms of Varuṇa, the (two) shoulders of the Aśvins, this head of the Maruts'. Therefore, I adopt the reading of **Or**.

Pādas **a** and **b** may contain a description of some parts of the chariot, maybe the wheels or its framework; the horse may also be concerned, because pāda **a**, in its Rgvedic attestation, refers to the fore legs and hind legs of a horse. The expression *marutām anīka*- possibly refers to the array, to the front line of the Maruts rather than to their faces, so that again the front part of the chariot, where horses are yoked, might be intended. Cf. RV 8.96.9a *tigmám áyudham marútām ánīkam* 'The front of the Maruts is a sharp weapon'.

**c**. This pāda is evidently addressed to the chariot, but this does not contradict the earlier mention of the horse: horses' shoulders were bound to the yoke with neckstraps.

#### **15.12.5** [Tristubh] $\approx$ RV 1.95.7

ud yamyamīti saviteva bāhū	Tb
ubhe sicau yatate bhīma r̃njan	Ta
uc chukram atkam ajate śacībhir	Tb
navā mātrbhyo vasanā jahāti	Tb

Like Savitar, he constantly stretches up his arms. He puts in order the two ends (of the army), pressing ahead, the terrible one. He helpfully takes off his brilliant garment, he leaves to the mothers new clothes.

yamyamīti] **Or**, yannasīni **K** saviteva] **Or**, savitave va **K** sicau] **Or**, matau **K** yatate] **Ku JM RM** Mā, yajate **K** [**Ma**] **Pa** rnijan] rnijan **Ku JM RM**, rnijan **Pa**, ranijana Mā, ranijan [**Ma**], rumijam **K** uc chukram] **JM RM**, uc chukram **Ma**, uchukram **Ku** [**Ma**], uchutram **Pa**, us chukram **K** atkam] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, om. **Mā**, attham **K** ajate] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, akramate **JM**, ayatī **K** sacībhir] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, sacībhih **RM**, sacībhin **K** navā] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, nivā **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 **Z K** 

#### RV 1.95.7

úd yamyamīti savitéva bāhū́ ubhé sícau yatate bhīmá r̃nján l úc chukrám átkam ajate simásmān návā mātrbhyo vásanā jahāti ll

#### Bhattacharya edits *yajate* in **b**.

This stanza, which is attested with minor variants also at PS 8.14.7 and is taken from RV 1.95.7, is about Agni, compared with the chief of an army (see Geldner's comment *ad loc.*). The reutilization of the Rgvedic stanza in our hymn was probably suggested by the military character of pāda **b** and by the identification of the subject of the actions with the king himself (cf. PS 15.5–6 above for the role of the garment in royal ceremonies).

- **b**. The majority of the manuscripts have the same reading as the RV, *yatate*, which is no doubt correct. The same cadence occurs also at RV 4.38.8d *durvártuḥ smā bhavati bhīmá ŗñján* 'He becomes irresistible, the terrible one, pressing ahead'.
- **c**. The PS has the worse variant *śacībhir* instead of *simásmān* 'from all' of the RV. In the RV, 22 attestations of *śacībhir* out of 36 are found in the cadence of a Triṣṭubh pāda.

**d**. Cf. PS 6.23.11c *jahātu* +*vasanaṁ svam* 'Let her abandon her own clothes'.

# **15.12.6** [Śakvarī] PS only, e: cf. PS 12.9b, cf. ŚS 4.31.3b = PS 4.12.3b

ugrau te nemī pavī ta ugrā	+#T3
ugrāḥ śaṅkavo bṛhato rathasya	+Tb
<sup>+</sup> īṣātra veṇavo *namatā ta ugrā-	T2c
-agniś cakṣuḥ pravayaṇaṁ rathasya	+#Ta
tenāmitrān pramṛṇan yāhi śatrūn	Ta

Strong are your two felloes, strong are your tires, strong are the pegs of the lofty chariot. The pole here, the reeds, your felts are strong. Agni is the urging eye of the chariot. Drive with that, crushing foes and enemies.

pavī] K, pavi Ku JM RM, pava Mā [Ma] Pa ta] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, te Mā ugrā ugrāḥ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, ugrāḥ ugrā JM, ugrāḥ K śaṅkavo] Or, śaṅkapo K rathasya] Or, raṣasya K ¹īṣātra] iṣātra Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, iṣātrī? RM, yeśāttra K veṇavo] Or, veṇo K \*namatā] namatis JM RM Pa Mā [Ma], namatas Ku, navatahnud K ugrāgniś] Ku RM [Ma] Pa, ugrāgniḥ Mā, ugrā{ṇ}gniś JM, agrāgniś K cakṣuḥ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, ścakṣuḥ Mā, cakṣuḥ K pravayaṇaṁ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, pravayatāṁ JM, praveṇe K tenāmitrān] Or, tenāmittrān K pramṛṇan] K, pramṛṇaṁ Or śatrūn] Or, śatṝn K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 6 Z K

Bhattacharya edits  $\bar{i}$   $\bar{s}$   $\bar{a}$  tra and namatis in  $\mathbf{c}$ .

**ab**. Note that as in the preceding stanzas the metre is rather irregular. With this stanza begins the description of the chariot (see SPARREBOOM 1985: 122–139). The first two pādas describe the wheels: *nemí*- is the felloe of a chariot-wheel (cf. RV 1.32.15, 2.5.3, 5.13.6 etc.), i.e. a segment or the whole rim of a wheel into which the outer ends of the spokes are attached and onto which a metal tyre, called *paví*-, is usually applied (cf. RV 1.34.2, 1.88.2, 1.180.1, 5.31.5, 5.52.9 etc.). The word śańkú- denotes a peg, nail or spike, whose function in the wheel is difficult to determine. Probably it refers to the nails with which the tyre was fixed to the felloe: cf. RV 1.164.48 dvādaśa pradháyaś cakrám ékam trīṇi nábhyāni ká u tác ciketa | tásmin sākám triśatā ná śaṅkávo 'rpitāḥ ṣaṣṭír ná calācalāsaḥ 'Twelve are the felloes, and the wheel is one; three are the naves. Who has understood it? Therein are set together three hundred and sixty pegs, which cannot be loosened in any way'.

c. The interpretation of this pāda is problematic. The word īṣā́- is the pole of the chariot (cf. RV 3.53.17, 10.135.3); veṇú- means 'bamboo', 'reed', 'cane'. This word is attested only at RV 8.55.3 śatám veṇūñ chatám śuṇaḥ śatám cármāṇi mlātāni | śatám me balbajastukā áruṣīṇām cátuḥśatam 'A hundred bamboo's sticks, a hundred dogs, hundred tanned skins; for me a hundred (sheeps) with flakes like tufts of balbaja-grass, four-hundred red (cows)', ŚS 1.27.3 ná bahávaḥ sám aśakan nārbhakā abhí dādhṛṣuḥ | veṇór ádgā ivābhító 'samṛddhā aghāyávaḥ 'Not many had power, the weak ones couldn't overpower; like the sprout of a bamboo round about, the malignant ones were not successful', PS 1.59.2 nāsṛg asti pataṅgasya tardasya maśakād yāḥ | veṇoḥ pūtudror nāsty asṛn māsya glaur māpacid bhuvat 'The blood is not for the Pataṅga, for the Tarda, for those who descend from a mosquito. The blood is not for the bamboo, not for the Pūtu tree. May it not become his lump, his sore' and PS 4.14.1ab yasminn āśīḥ pratihita idam tac chalyo veṇur veṣṭanam tejanam ca 'Wherein you were attached, [all]

that is here: the arrow-tip, the bamboo, the wrapping, and the shaft' (Griffiths — Lubotsky 2014). It probably refers to the material with which parts of the chariot were built.

As regards \*namatā, the proposed emendation calls into question the word namata- 'felt'. This word, which was previously considered to be attested only later in Sanskrit, is a loanword from Iranian nəmata- 'Reisig', 'Geflecht aus Reisig, Hürde' (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1068), and could refer to some kind of internal or external covering for the chariot, made of felt. According to Kuz'mina 2007: 113, "The frame of the vehicle was planked and above it were bent arched planks; it was re-covered by a 'cap' (gadhā-) made of mats or pieces of felt".

Another possible interpretation is to take the word as referring to the wheel; if so, it could indicate the wooden rim of the wheel bent into a curved shape (see RAU 1983: 17 and cf. RV 7.32.20cd  $\acute{a}$  va índram puruhūtám name gir $\acute{a}$  nemím táṣṭeva sudrvàm 'I bend with a song your Indra, the much-invoked one, like a carpenter [bends] the felloe made of solid wood'). In any case, an emendation of the transmitted text seems unavoidable.

## **15.12.7** [**Tristubh**] PS only

arā nābhayo balam it te akṣa	+Tb
ugrau te koṣau saha nisyadābhyām	Tb
āṇ <sub>i</sub> yor vardhrāṇi uta *koṣayor ā	*Tb
sthānam bandha uta vandhuram te	T1

The spokes, the naves, the axle [are] indeed your strength. Strong are your two boxes, together with the two? The straps are in the two pins and in the two boxes, the standing-place and the seat are in the binding.

arā] **Or**, rā **K** balam it te akṣa] **Or**, balim ity ekṣa **K** ugrau] **Or**, ugre **K** koṣau] **Or**, ghoṣau **K** nisyadābhyām] nisyadābhyām **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, nisyadābhyam **Ku**, naḥsvarābhyām **K** āṇyor] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, aṇyor **Mā**, āraṇyo **K** vardhrāṇi] **K**, vadhrān **Or** uta] **Or**, ca **K** \*koṣayor ā] koṣaghorā **Ku RM Mā**, k{r}oṣaghorā **JM**, koṣaghoro [**Ma**] **Pa**, ghoyo **K** sthānam] **Or**, rāstrānam **K** bandha] **Ku JM RM Mā**, bandhu **Mā Pa**, vamta **K** vandhuram te] bandhuran te **Or**, bandhurete **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits  $\underline{nisyad\bar{a}}bhy\bar{a}m$  in **b**,  $vadhr\bar{a}n$  and  $ko\underline{s}aghor\bar{a}$  in **c**.

- **a.** The word  $ar\acute{a}$  indicates the 'spoke' (cf. RV 1.32.15, 1.141.9, 10.78.4);  $n\acute{a}bhi$  means 'nave of a chariot-wheel', i.e. the thickest portion of the chariot wheel, used to link the axle to the spokes. Why is  $n\acute{a}bhi$  in the plural here?  $\acute{A}ksa$  is the 'axle' of the chariot (cf. RV 1.30.14, 1.166.9, 3.53.17), and it usually projected somewhat from the nave of the wheel, so that a linch-pin ( $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$ -) was applied to secure the wheel in its place.
- **b**. The word *koṣa* means 'box, the inner part of a chariot'. Since we know that usually two persons stood together on the same chariot (see my comment at 10.6ab), there must have been a sort of division inside the chariot. That is probably the reason why the word is in the dual here.

At the end of the pāda, *nisyadābhyām* is a problematic word.

It must be an instrumental dual, governed by *saha*, and somehow related to the two boxes already mentioned. I interpret it as an instrumental dual from a hapax *nisyada*- 'driving/ flowing down', derived from the verb *nisyand*- 'to flow down' and indicating a sort of gutter or draining channel that was put on both sides of the chariot (on the derivatives from the root *syand*-, cf.

AiGr. II/2, § 10c, p. 25 and § 22c, p. 74, with the examples *raghuṣyad*- 'moving/flowing quickly', *sasyád*- 'stream', *havana-syád*- 'hastening to an invocation' and the thematic formations in *syáda*- 'driving', *go-syada*- 'driving cows', *aśva-syada*- 'driving horses').

**c**. On the word  $\bar{a}ni$ , see my comment above. As regards  $vadhr\bar{a}n$ , an accusative plural from vadhra- 'a leathern strap or thong' is syntactically wrong. One could emend to \* $vadhr\bar{a}$ , nominative plural; **K**, on the other hand, may have preserved a better reading here,  $vardhr\bar{a}ni$ , which I interpret as a nominative plural neuter from vardhra- 'leather, strap'. I adopt it in the text, although it makes the verse metrically irregular (no caesura).

I emend the compound  $koṣaghor\bar{a}$ -, whose meaning is not clear, to \*koṣayor  $\bar{a}$ , for which see RV 6.47.9b  $v\acute{a}hiṣṭhayoḥ \acute{s}at\bar{a}vann \acute{a}\acute{s}vayor \acute{a}$  '(put us) on two horses drawing best, O lord of hundreds', where the postposition  $\bar{a}$  is similarly found at the end of a pāda after a dual form.

**d**. The word *bandhúra*- has to be interpreted as a *varia lectio* for *vandhúra*-, which means 'seat of the chariot', or maybe better, following KEWA, 'Wagenkorb, wicker basket tied upon the wagon, wicker carriage'.

## **15.12.8** [**Tristubh**] PS only

goṣṭhe balaṁ mṛga ekam aṅgaṁ	T1
parā kramadhvam maha ā suvanta	Tb
abhīśavo hatāanena vrtram	+#Ta
ayam kṣatreṇa prajayāstūugraḥ	*Tb

The strength is in the cow-pen, the deer (horn) cheek-piece [combines the reins into] one part. Step forward, procuring greatness. O reins, slay Vrtra through this one. Let this one here be strong with the kingdom, with offspring.

goṣṭhe] JM RM, gau(→go)ṣṭhe Ku, gauṣṭhe Pa Mā [Ma], goṣṭha K balaṁ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, bala JM, baliṁ K ekam aṅgaṁ] Ku RM Pa [Ma], ekam aṅga JM Mā, ekasaṅgaṁ K parā] Or, prā K maha] Or, mahā K suvanta] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], suvantaṁ Pa, suvaṁca K abhīśavo] K, abhīṣavo Or vṛtram] Or, vṛttram K ayaṁ] K, ahaṁ Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, mahaṁ Mā kṣatreṇa] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, kṣetreṇa RM, kṣattreṇa K prajayāstūgraḥ] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], pra{ya}jayāstūgraḥ Pa, prajayāstūgrā K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 8 Z K

## Bhattacharya edits *gau<u>sthe</u>* in **a**.

- **a.** This pāda is problematic. It seems very probable to me that the manuscripts **JM**, **RM** and **Ku** post correctionem have preserved a more original reading (gosthe), which is supported also by the reading of **K** (gostha). As regards the meaning, it is likely that the verse makes reference to the reins, explicitly addressed in pāda **c**. They were probably made of leather, and since the leather straps are called go-, it is logical to state that 'the strength is in the cow-pen', i.e. in the stable, where the cow abide. The word mrga-, which literally means 'deer', could refer to the cheek-pieces or psalia that were made of horn (on the cheek-pieces, see Kuz'MINA 2007: 115 ff.).
- **b**. For the use of the verb  $\bar{a}$ - $s\bar{u}$  'procure, yield, grant', cf. 5.2c above, and for  $par\bar{a}$   $kramadhva\dot{m}$ , see the comment at 15.9.5a.
- **c**. Cf. RV 1.23.9ab *hatá vṛtrám sudānava índreṇa sáhasā yujā* 'O bountiful gods, slay Vṛtra with mighty Indra as ally' and PS 16.27.3a *anenendro maṇinā vṛtram ahann* 'Indra, slaying Vṛtra with this amulet'.

## **15.12.9** [**Tristubh**] PS only, b: cf. PS 12.3c, 12.6e

ā tiṣṭha jiṣṇus tarasā sapatnān	Tb
<sup>+</sup> sahasravīraḥ pramṛṇan yāhi śatrūn	T2
*prașțiyuge kṛṇutāṁ vīr¡yāṇi	*+Ta
tadetām etam ratham asya śagme	Tb

Mount [the chariot], overcoming quickly the rivals. Being strong as a thousand men, drive and crush the enemies. O side-yokes, make you two heroic deeds. Then let the two strong ones go to that chariot of his.

jiṣṇus tarasā] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jiṣṇusa rasā **RM** sapatnān] **Or**, sahasvām **K** †sahasravīraḥ] sahasravīra **K**, sāhasro vīraḥ **Or** pramṛṇan] **K**, pramṛṇam **Or** śatrūn] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], śatrūna **Pa**, śatr̄n **K** \*praṣṭiyuge] pṛṣṭiyuge Mā [**Ma**] **Pa**, pṛṣṭiyugena **RM**, puṣṭiyuge **Ku**, puṣṭiyugo **JM**, triṣṭhīyoge **K** kṛṇutam] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, kṛśu(→ṇu)tam **Pa** tad] **Or**, ud **K** etām] **K**, ethām **Or** ratham asya] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, rathasysa **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, 9 **Z K** 

Bhattacharya edits  $s\bar{a}hasro\ v\bar{i}rah$  in **b**,  $p\bar{s}stiyuge$  in **c** and  $^{+}tadet\bar{a}m$  in **d**.

- a. Note the exceptional use of the adjective *jiṣṇú* 'victorious' with the direct object (*sapatnān*); this adjective never governs an accusative in Vedic, a construction which is attested only later (Bhartrhari 1.5, Vopadeva 5.26; cf. the epic compounds *satyajiṣṇu* 'winning the truth', *ripujiṣṇu* 'winning the enemy'). In order to avoid this construction, the accusative *sapatnān* can be considered, together with *śatrūn*, the object of the participle *pramṛṇan* in the next pāda.
- **b**. The reading of  $\mathbf{K}$  sahasrav $\bar{\imath}$ ra is much better. Cf. also 12.3c above, where the same epithet refers to the chariot.
- **c.** I slightly emend the reading of the Orissa manuscritps *pṛṣṭiyuge* to \**praṣṭiyuge*, which is a hapax. As pointed out by SPARREBOOM 1985: 32, "The *práṣṭi* is the side-horse or, in technical terms, the outrigger or trace-horse. This is a horse, not directly under the yoke, but connected loosely with the vehicle, either by straps to other horse(s) or to the axle. Normally, there is a side-horse on either side (...)".
  - **d**. The "+"-sign in  ${}^{+}tadet\bar{a}m$  is unnecessary, because **K** has the correct reading. Possibly  $\acute{s}agme$  is a nominative dual referred to the two side-horses.

## 15.12.10 [Tristubh] PS only

aṣṭau cakṣūmṣi kavayaḥ saṁ namantuv	*T2
aśvā prākāśā rju dhāvayantaḥ	Tb
anu tvā skambho dadatām piteva	Tb
cakramāṇam ainam dhatsvopasthe pra tirātiy āyuḥ	*+#°Ta

Let the seers put together eight eyes, driving straight two pairs of horses symmetrically disposed. Let the prop be favourable to you like a father. Accept in [your] lap this one who has stepped: he will make life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

kavayaḥ] **Or**, kavayas **K** saṁ namantv] saṁ namanti **K**, saṁ namaṁtv [**Ma Mā**], san namaṁtv **Ku RM Pa**, san namantv **JM** aśvā] **Or**, śvā **K** prākāśā] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, prākāśa **Mā**, prāgāśvā **K** ŗju dhāvayantaḥ] **Ku RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, rju dhāvavayantaḥ Mā, rdhāvayantaḥ **JM**, ratha dāvayantaḥ **K** tvā] **Or**, prā **K** skambho] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, skamo **JM**, skambho **K** dadatām] **Or**, dadhatīm **K** cakramāṇam ainam] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, caKRA·ŅAm ainam **Ku**, cakramāṇamai **K** dhatsvopasthe] **RM K**, dhatsopasthe **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 10 Z **K** 

- **a**. If the interpretation of the preceding stanza is correct, there are four horses in total, two under the yoke and two side-horses, one on either side. The mention of eight eyes is thus explained (or the two men in a chariot and the two horses?).
- **b**. The word *prākāśa* means, according to the dictionaries 'Metallspiegel' (PW), 'a metallic mirror' (MW). (Are the mirrors a gift? Cf. PB 18.9.10 *prākāśāv adhvaryor yāv iva hy adhvaryū atho cakṣuṣī evāsmin dadhāti* 'Two mirrors to the two Adhvaryus (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ); the two Adhvaryus are as much as twins. Besides, he brings eye-sight into him (into each of them)' [Caland]).

On *dhāvayati*, see BODEWITZ 1974, who points out that the verb, which only means 'to drive', appears usually with ellipsis of the object (viz. 'chariot' or 'horse-chariot'). In this PS passage, however, the object is expressed.

- **c**. As regards the word *skambhá* 'prop, support', see SINGH 1965: 31, who notes that in RV 1.34.2c the chariot of the Aśvins, "is said to have three supports fixed in it to lay hold of (*tráya skambhása skabhitása ārábhe*), which might have secured the rider's balance when the vehicle was at full speed)".
- **d**. This pāda is too long, and must contain an interpolation; the expression  $pra\ tir\bar{a}ty\ \bar{a}yuh$  is the best candidate to be a later addition.

# **15.12.11** [**Śakvarī**] PS only

kavibhiḥ syūtaḥ sa rathe vibaddhaḥ	+Tb
sa dhanvadhir †dhanucit te jajāna†	Ta
<sup>+</sup> anuprāsyemāni prthu madhyamān <sub>i</sub> y	*T2c
aśvebhyaḥ śaṁtvāya kavibhiḥ kṛtāni	T2c
tebhiş te sarma yachantu devāḥ	T3

Sewn by the seers, bound in the chariot, that bow-case ? . Throw after broadly those middle ones, made by the seers for the horses, for auspiciousness (?). With those let the gods grant you protection.

kavibhiḥ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, {kabhi}kavibhiḥ JM, kavibhis K syūtaḥ] Ku JM RM, syutaḥ Pa [Ma], syṛtaḥ Mā, sūthas K rathe] Or, rathaṁ K vibaddhaḥ] Or, vibaddhas K sa dhanvadhir dhanucit te] sa dhanvadhird dhanucit te Or, svayaṁ dhanur dhanar danuttvye K jajāna] Or, dadhānaḥ K †anuprāsyemāni] anuprāsyevān K, aṇuprāsemāni Ku Jm Mā [Ma] Pa, aṇuprās{o}emāni RM pṛthumadhyamāny] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, pṛthṛmadhyamāna Mā, pratitivuddhyamāna K aśvebhyaḥ] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, aśvebhy{o}aḥ RM, śvebhyaḥ K śaṁtvāya] Or, saṁtāya K kavibhiḥ] Or, kavibhiḥ K kṛtāni] K Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], kṛt{o}āni Pa yachantu] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, yantu RM, yaśchantu K ||] || r 11 || 12 || Ku, || r 10 || 12 || JM, || r 12 || RM, || 12 || r 11 || Mā [Ma] Pa Z 4 Z K

**ab**. This stanza confirms Singh's supposition that "On the analogy of Middle Eastern evidence and that of later Sanskrit literature, quivers containing arrows and spears must have been tied to the box of the chariot" (SINGH 1965: 31). From the evidence of the PS, however, it seems that not the quiver itself was bound to the chariot, but a bow-case, which could

conceivably contain both the bow and the quiver with arrows. This is the earliest attestation of the word *dhanvadhi*- 'bow-case', further attested in JB  $2.103 = \bar{A}p\dot{S}S$   $22.12.4 = \dot{S}ankh\dot{S}S$  14.33.20. According to the JB passage, the bow-case was made of (snow) leopard skin (*dvaipa*; see LUBOTSKY 2004c: 4).

The sequence *dhanucitte* is problematic. We can analyze *dhanucit te* or *dhanucitte*. In both cases, the form *dhanu-* is unexpected (the regular thematic form is *dhanva-* or, in post-Rgvedic text, *dhanus-* [cf. *indra-dhanus, dhanus-kṛt-, dhanuṣ-kāra-*])

At any rate, there are several compounds with -*cit* as a second member meaning 'piled up', so in the first case, if we could explain the form *dhanu*-, the meaning of the whole expression would be 'that bow-case is born for you, as a collector of bows'.

c. The verb anuprās- 'to shoot after' is late (ŚB). Which is the object in neuter plural?

## 15.13. To various gods: for relief from oppression

This hymn and the following one form a single group of 21 connected stanzas, which correspond to ŚS 11.6. The Śaunakīya version of this hymn has two stanzas more than the PS, and the material is arranged in considerably altered verse order, as shown in the table below:

PS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
ŚS	1	3	2	4	6	5	7	15	8	9	14	17	10	11	19	13	12	18	16	22	21	20	23

Each stanza contains an invocation to various gods for relief from oppression (*ámhas-*), and is rather independent from the preceding and following stanzas. Since the order of the stanzas is not relevant in deciding which of the two recensions has preserved the more original text, one should look for other clues to settle the issue, although in most cases this seems to be "little more than arbitrary guesswork" (GRIFFITHS 2009: 423).

As regards the metre, the PS seems superior in general (cf. 13.8b, 14.8b), but there are also lines where the ŚS is better (13.10c, 14.11c), so it is almost impossible to say in such cases whether the best text has "an archaic trait preserved, or a result of later polishing of originally irregular poetry" (GRIFFITHS *ibid*.). Moreover, the occurrence of heptasyllabic pādas in Anuṣṭubh stanzas is common in the AV, and cannot seriously be considered a metrical irregularity.

As regards the content, there are at least two instances in which the PS has preserved a better text, viz. at 13.9a and 13.10b (and 13.10d?). In only two cases (14.1c and 2c) I emend the text of the PS according to the ŚS readings.

The most conclusive evidence suggesting that the PS could be more original is the fact that the two stanzas that are found in the ŚS, but not in the PS, are almost certainly later additions: ŚS 11.6.20 is nearly a repetition of the preceding stanza, and ŚS 11.6.23 "is so discordant with the rest of the hymn as to seem an addition made to it" (see Whitney's comment *ad loc.*).

There are many links with the preceding hymn, such as the names of the gods (Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan) and several words: vanaspatīn in 13.1a corresponds with vanaspatibhyaḥ in 11.6b;  $n\bar{a}ma$  occurs also at 10.8a; paśava in 13.9a corresponds with paśubhir in 12.2c;  $mrg\bar{a}h$  in 13.9b with mrgo in 11.2a and mrga in 12.8a; pakṣiṇo in 13.9c with pakṣau in 12.4a; ugrah in 13.10b with ugrau,  $ugr\bar{a}$ ,  $ugr\bar{a}h$  in 12.6ab and ugrau in 12.7b; iṣur in 13.10c with iṣavah in 11.2d, 3b; 'po in 14.4b with  $ap\bar{a}m$  in 11.6c;  $pit\bar{r}n$  in 14.4c with pitaro in 10.9a and pitarah in 10.10a;  $rt\bar{a}vrdhah$  in 14.5b with  $rt\bar{a}vrdho$  in 10.10c;  $prthivy\bar{a}m$  in 14.7c with  $prthivy\bar{a}h$  in 11.6a and  $prthiv\bar{r}m$  in 11.9a;  $paśc\bar{a}t$  in 14.8b with  $paśc\bar{a}t$  in 10.6d, 11.1a;  $purast\bar{a}t$  in 14.8c with  $purast\bar{a}t$  in 11.1c;  $uttar\bar{a}t$  in 14.8c with  $uttarasm\bar{a}d$  in 11.1b; uttarat in 14.9c with  $uttarasm\bar{a}d$  in 11.1d; uttarat in 14.7a and uttarat in 14.7b with uttarat in 14.7a and uttarat in 14.7b with uttarat in 14.7b with uttarat in 10.9a.

# **15.13.1** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.1

agnim brūmo vanaspatīn	A
oṣadhīr uta vīrudhaḥ	A
indram brhaspatim sūryam	+#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address Agni, the trees, the herbs and the plants, Indra, Brhaspati, Sūrya: let them free us from oppression.

agnim] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, a agnim **Pa** oṣadhīr uta] oṣadhīrta **Or**, oṢADHīn atu **K** vīrudhaḥ] **K**, vīrdhaḥ **Or** indram] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, indro **JM** bṛhaspatim] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, bṛhaspat{ī}im **Pa**, bṛhaspati **JM** muñcantv] **RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, muñcamtv **Ku K**, muñcatv **JM Mā** amhasaḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ahasaḥ **JM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** Z 2 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.1

agním brūmo vánaspátīn óṣadhīr utá vīrúdhaḥ | índram bṛ́haspátim sū́ryam té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**d**. For the meaning of the word *ámhas*- in this hymn and in the following one, see my note on PS 15.3.8d. This stanza is erroneously numbered in **K** with the indication "Z 2 Z" after it. This mistake was evidently due to the lacuna of the following stanza, which caused a reorganization of the numbering in order to reach the final number of ten stanzas at the end of the hymn.

# **15.13.2** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.3 $\approx$ MS 2.7.13:94.17–18

brūmo devam savitāram	#A
dhātāram uta pūṣaṇam	A
tvaṣṭāram agriyam brūmas	+#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address god Savitar, Dhātar and Pūṣan; Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, we address: (let them...).

 $br\bar{u}mo...$  te om.  $\mathbf{K} \bullet \$ dhātāram]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M}$ ā  $[\mathbf{Ma}]$ , dhātāra $\{\dot{m}\}\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{Pa}$   $p\bar{u}$ saṇam]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{Ma}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$ ,  $p\{u\}\bar{u}$ s $(\rightarrow s)$ aṇam  $\mathbf{Pa}$   $\mathbf{a}$  agriyam]  $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$ , agryam  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{Ma}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$   $\mathbf{Pa}$  ||]  $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{Ma}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$   $\mathbf{Pa}$ , |  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{RM}$ 

#### ŚS 11.6.3

brūmó devám savitāram dhātāram utá pūṣáṇam l tváṣṭāram agriyám brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

#### MS 2.7.13:94.17-18

brūmó rájānam váruṇam dhātāram utá pūṣáṇam l tváṣṭāram ágriyam brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ l

This stanza is not found in **K**. Bhattacharya edits *agryam* in **c**.

**ab**. Griffith's translation 'We call on Savitar the God, on Pūshan the establisher' is disqualified both by the syntax — for *utá* does not behave like the enclitic *ca* — and by the sense, both because Pūṣan is never called 'establisher' and because *dhātár*- should be considered an independent divinity. This is confirmed, e.g., by PS 11.14.6ab *dhātā pūṣā bṛhaspatir* ... *ajīgaman* 'Dhātar, Pūṣan [and] Bṛhaspati bring together', in which the use of the plural in the verb shows that there are more than two subjects and that three gods are mentioned; cf. also PS 20.30.6ab *medam dhātā medam pūṣā medam indro dadhātu me* 'Fat let Dhātar, fat let Pūṣan, fat let Indra provide me', in which the names of the two gods are found close to each other but are clearly unrelated.

c. The reading agryam of Bhattacharya's edition should be read agriyam in order to obtain an octosyllabic pāda. I adopt the reading of **JM** and **RM**, which is better for the metre and is the same reading as that of the parallel passages. The adjective agriyá- refers to Tvaṣṭar at RV 1.13.10a ihá tváṣṭāram agriyám viśvárūpam úpa hvaye 'I invite here Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, having all forms' and to Agni at RV 6.16.48a agním devāso agriyám indháte vṛtrahántamam 'The gods kindle Agni, the foremost, best slayer of Vṛtra'. It is not clear whether agriyá- means 'foremost' or 'first-born' when applied to the gods, and the available translations are not consistent (at ŚS 11.6.3c Whitney translates it 'at the head', Griffith 'the foremost', Bloomfield 'first-born', Sani-Orlandi 'primigenio' etc.). At any rate, it should be noted that Tvaṣṭar's status as first-born seems to be suggested by passages like RV 10.64.10ab utá mātā bṛhaddivā śṛṇotu nas tváṣṭā devébhir jánibhih pitā vácaḥ 'And let Bṛhaddivā, the mother, hear our call, Tvaṣṭar, the father, with the gods and their wives' and especially RV 9.5.9ab tváṣṭāram agrajām gopām puroyāvānam ā huve 'I call here Tvaṣṭar, the first-born, protector [and] leader', where the adjective agrajā- 'first-born' is synonymous with agriyá-.

# **15.13.3** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.2, a: cf. MS 2.7.13:94.17

brūmo rājānam varuņam	#A
mitram viṣṇum atho bhagam	A
amśam vivasvantam brūmas	#A
te °°°	*A

We address king Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, and also Bhaga; Amśa, Vivasvant we address: (let them...).

rājānam] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, rājāna **Pa** varuṇam] **K**, vaṛṇam **Or** mitram] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, mitro **JM**, om. **K** viṣṇum] **Or**, viṣṇumm **K** amśam] **K**, amśum **Ku RM Pa [Ma]**, amśu **JM**, aśum **Mā** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.2

brūmó rājānam váruṇam mitrám víṣṇum átho bhágam | ámśam vívasvantam brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasah ||

**bc**. Amśa 'share' is nearly always named together with Bhaga 'fortune'. Both are listed among the minor Ādityas, and their relationship has been variously interpreted: according to THIEME 1970: 401, "[*Bhága*] ist der (zugeteilte) Anteil — im Gegensatz zu *ámśa* m. der [durch Los, Glück erlangte] Teil"; BRERETON 1981: 308 proposes, "If Bhaga is Fortune, then Amśa is best regarded as the Share which Fortune brings".

Note that none of the Orissa manuscripts has the correct reading (also Bhattacharya edits the reading of  $\mathbf{K}$   $a\dot{m}\dot{s}a\dot{m}$ ).

# 15.13.4 [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.4

gandharvāpsaraso brūmo	+#A
aśvinā brahmaṇaspatim	A
aryamā nāma yo devas	+#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address the Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the two Aśvins, Brahmaṇaspati, the god called Aryaman: (let them...).

gandharvāpsaraso] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, gandharvā{ṣ}psaraso **Pa**, gandharvā 'psaraso **JM RM** nāma] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, nā(→ṇā)ma **Ku**, ṇāma **RM**, ṇama **JM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.4

gandharvāpsaráso brūmo aśvínā bráhmaṇas pátim | aryamā nāma yó devás te no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

# 15.13.5 [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.6

vātam brūmaḥ parjan <sub>i</sub> yam	*#A
antarikṣam atho diśaḥ	A
āśāś ca sarvā brūmas	A7
te °°°	*A

We address Vāta, Parjanya, the intermediate space, and also the quarters, and all regions we address: (let them...).

brūmaḥ] **Or**, brūmaḥ **K** parjanyam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, par{ya}janyam **JM**, parjanya **K** sarvā] **Or**, sarva **K** ||] **Ku JM** [**Mā Mā**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.6

vấtam brūmaḥ parjányam antárikṣam átho díśaḥ | áśāś ca sárvā brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**a**. This pāda could be more easily considered a heptasyllable, but a quadrisyllabic scansion of  $parjan_iya$ -, though not common, is however very probable here and at PS 2.63.3a (= 3.14.6a)  $y\bar{a}s\bar{a}$   $pit\bar{a}$   $parjan_iyo$ .

## **15.13.6** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.5$

ahorātre idam brūmaḥ	+#A
sūryācandramasā ubhā	A
ādit <sub>i</sub> yān sarvān brūmas	*#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address Day and Night here, both the Sun and the Moon; all the Ādityas we address: let them free us from oppression.

idam] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ida **Pa** brūmaḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, brūma **JM**, brūmas **K** sūryācandramasā] **Or**, sūryāścandramasā **K** muñcantv] **JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, muñcantv **Ku**, muñcatv **Mā** amhasaḥ] **Ku** [**Mā Mā**] **Pa**, amhasaḥ **JM**, ahasaḥ **RM**, amhasaḥ **K** |||] **Ku** [**Mā Mā**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

#### **ŚS** 11.6.5

ahorātré idám brūmah sūryācandramásāv ubhá | víśvān ādityán brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasah ||

Bhattacharya edits  $sarv\bar{a}na$  in  $\mathbf{c}$ , which must be a misprint due to the omission of the  $vir\bar{a}ma$  sign.

- **b**. On the sandhi  $-au\ \tilde{u}$ -, which fluctuates between  $-\bar{a}v\ \tilde{u}$  and  $-\bar{a}\ \tilde{u}$ -, cf. AiGr. I, § 274, p. 326. In contrast to the ŚS, the PS shows the typical Rgvedic sandhi here.
- **c**. The ŚS reads *víśvān ādityān* instead of *ādityān sarvān* in the PS. Although *sárva* and *víśva* have different shades of meaning, especially in the most archaic portions of the RV, the two words become synonymous already in the latest part of the RV itself; in our passage the variant is not significant (the reading of the ŚS may at best be considered an archaism; see WITZEL 1989: 238).
- **d**. All the manuscripts give the pāda without abbreviation, because in the following stanza the last pāda is different; the refrain starts again in stanza eight, where pāda **d** appears in full as well. The same situation is found at 14.9–11.

# **15.13.7** [Anuştubh] $\approx$ ŚS 11.6.7, a: $\mathbb{R}$ V 10.97.16a

muñcantu mā śapath <sub>i</sub> yād	*#A
ahorātre atho uṣāḥ	A
somo mā divyo muñcatu	#A
yam āhuś candramā iti	A

Let Day and Night, and also Dawn, free me from what comes from a curse. Let the divine Soma, whom they call the Moon, free me.

śapathyād] **Ku JM [Ma] Pa K**, śapathād **RM**, sapathyād **Mā** atho] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma] Pa K**, aho **JM** uṣāḥ] **Or**, vṛṣā **K** divyo] **Or**, dityo **K** muñcatu] **K**, muñcantu **Ku JM RM Pa**, muñvantu ? **Mā** [**Ma**] ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.7

muñcántu mā śapathyād ahorātré átho uṣāḥ sómo mā devó muñcatu yám āhúś candrámā íti ||

bc. On the relation between Soma and the Moon, see HILLEBRANDT 1927: 269 ff.

# **15.13.8** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.15$

pañca rājyāni vīrudhām	A
somaśresthāni brūmasi	A
bhaṅgo darbho yavaḥ sahas	A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasah	*A

We address the five kingdoms of the plants, having Soma as their chief. Hemp, *darbha*, barley, *saha*: let them free us from oppression.

pañca] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, paṁca Ku rājyāni] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], rāyāni Pa, rājyān K vīrudhāṁ] vīrdhāṁ Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, vīrdhā JM, vīrudhān K somaśreṣṭhāni] Or, somaśśreṣṭhāni K yavaḥ] Or, yadas K muñcantv] K Pa [Ma], muñcaṁtv Ku, muñcanty(→antv) JM, muñcatv RM Mā ∥] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 8 Z K

páñca rājyāni vīrúdhām sómaśreṣṭhāni brūmaḥ | darbhó bhaṅgó yávaḥ sáhas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

- **a**. The comment on the ŚS explains:  $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}\bar{a}$  bhiṣajā viniyujyamānāni patrakāṇḍapuṣpaphalamūlātmakāni 'The five kingdoms of the character of leaves, joints, flowers, fruits and roots (are) charged by the king (Soma), a physician'. According to GONDA 1985b: 53, this explanation "may be right in that these five components of plants could be used for medicinal purposes".
- **b**. The PS version of this pāda, by reading *brūmasi*, is metrically superior. The form is a hapax.
- **c**. Note the syntactic change with three nominatives instead of the accusatives found in the other stanzas. The pattern of this stanza is repeated at PS 15.14.3 below. The commentary on the ŚS calls *saha* simply 'a kind of herb' (see also ZIMMER 1879: 72).
  - **d**. After stanza seven, which has a different last pāda, the refrain is repeated here in full.

# **15.13.9** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS } 11.6.8$

ye grāmyāḥ sapta paśava	#A
āraņyā uta ye mṛgāḥ	A
śakuntān pakṣiṇo brūmas	+#A
te °°°	*A

The seven domestic animals and the beasts belonging to the jungle; the winged birds we address: (let them...).

grāmyāḥ]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , grāmyas  $\mathbf{K}$  mṛgāḥ]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , mṛgāś  $\mathbf{K}$  śakuntān pakṣiṇo]  $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{Ma}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$   $\mathbf{K}$ , śaku · · · ŅO  $\mathbf{Ku}$  te ||]  $\mathbf{Ku}$ ,  $\mathbf{JM}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ], te |  $\mathbf{RM}$ , te no ||  $\mathbf{JM}$ , no muñcatv am  $\mathbf{Ma}$ , te  $\mathbf{Z}$  9  $\mathbf{Z}$   $\mathbf{K}$ 

#### ŚS 11.6.8

pārthivā divyáḥ paśáva āraṇyā utá yé mṛgāḥ | śakúntān pakṣíṇo brūmas té no muñcantv áṁhasaḥ ||

- **a**. The ŚS version of this pāda, *pắrthivā divyáḥ paśáva* 'The earthly, the heavenly animals', was considered by Whitney as inferior to that of the PS; it was probably triggered here by ŚS 11.5.21a, which is identical. Cf. also ŚS 3.10.6cd (and ŚS 2.34.4a) *yé grāmyāḥ paśávo viśvárūpās téṣām saptānām máyi rántir astu* 'The domestic animals of all forms of those seven let the willing stay be with me' (Whitney). Whitney reports the explanation of the commentator, who "specifies the seven (i.e. domestic) animals as cow, horse, goat, sheep, man, ass, camel; but the number seven is doubtless used only as an indefinite sacred one".
- **c**. Note the combination of two words, *śakunta* and *pakṣiṇ*-, which each individually can mean 'bird'. This kind of combination is not unusual in the PS (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 333).

## **15.13.10** [Anustubh] abc: $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.9$ abc

bhavāśarvāv idam brūma	+#A
ugraḥ paśupatiś ca yaḥ	A
iṣūr yā eṣ₄āṁ vidmas	*+#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

Bhava and Śarva we address here, and him who is the fearsome lord of animals. Their arrows which we know: let them free us from oppression.

bhavāśarvāv] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], bh{ā}avāśarvāv **Pa**, bhavāśarvā **K** brūma] **Or**, brūmā **K** ugraḥ] **Or**, ugraḥ **K** iṣūr] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, iṣū{→ṣū?} **Pa** yā] [**Ma**] **K**, jā **Ku JM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ya **RM** eṣāṁ] **Or**, eṣā **K** vidmas] **Mā K**, vidma **Ku** [**Ma**], {brūma} vi{t}dma **JM**, vi{·}dma **RM Pa** te || r 13 || **JM**, te || r 13 || **RM** muñcantv aṁhasaḥ || 13 || r 10 || [**Ma**] **Pa**, muñcamtv aṁhasaḥ || r 10 || 13 || **Ku**, muñcatv aṁhasaḥ || 13 || r 10 || **Mā**, ñcantv aṁhasaḥ Z 10 Z kā 4 Z **K** 

ŚS 11.6.9 bhavāśarvāv idám brūmo rudrám paśupátiś ca yáḥ | ísūr yā esām samvidmá tā nah santu sádā śivāh ||

- **b**. Note the interesting variant of the ŚS, which reads *rudrám* instead of *ugraḥ* in the PS. Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati are all names or embodiments of Rudra, used as full proper names or epithets (see BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618); therefore, the reading of the PS seems to be the *lectio difficilior* (all the more so since *ugrá* can also be used as epithet of Rudra).
- c. The ŚŚ reads samvidmá, which is better for the metre but could also be a secondary improvement. I have decided to follow Bhattacharya, who edits vidmas with **K** and **Mā**. The anomalous form of the 1<sup>st</sup> plural perfect, vidmas, which we find in the PS, is also attested at PS 8.15.6c rsinām vidmas vidmas, while vidmas is found at PS 17.12.2b = 17.13.13c vidmas vidmas
- **d**. Instead of the refrain *te no muñcantv amhasaḥ*, the ŚS inserts a completely different pāda,  $t \hat{a} nah santu s \hat{a} d\bar{a} \dot{s} i v \hat{a} h$  'Let them always be propitious to us', which is found in nearly identical form at PS 14.10d = ŚS 11.6.22d and seems to be out of place here because it does not suit the pattern. This insertion, however, may be regarded as natural from a point of view of a medieval priest, since Sadaśiva was an important Śaiva deity in medieval Hinduism.

This last pāda is written in full in all the manuscripts with the exception of **JM** and **RM**, which have it in the abbreviated form.

## 15.14. To various gods: for relief from oppression (continued)

## 15.14.1 [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.14

yajñam brūmo yajamānam	#A
rcaḥ sāmāni bheṣajā	A
yajūmṣi *hotrā brūmas	A7
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address the worship, the initiator of worship, the stanzas, the Sāmans, the healing charms; the sacred formulas, the invocations we address: let them free us from oppression.

rcah] **Or**, rcas **K** yajūmṣi] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, yaj{u}ūmṣi **Pa**, yajūMṣi **Ku** \*hotrā] hotrān **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, hotrāna **Mā**, hotār **K** te ||] **JM**, te | **RM**, te Z 1 Z **K** muñcantv amhasaḥ || **Pa** [[om. |]], [**Ma**], muñcamtv amhasaḥ || **Ku**, muñcatv amhasaḥ || **Mā** 

#### ŚS 11.6.14

yajñám brūmo yájamānam fcaḥ sắmāni bheṣajấ | yájūmṣi hótrā brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

## Bhattacharya edits *hotrān* in **c**.

**bc**. In these two pādas, the sacred texts are addressed: *rcaḥ* refers to the Rgveda, *sāmāni* to the Sāmaveda, *bheṣajā* to the Atharvaveda and *yajūmṣi* to the Yajurveda. Note the reference to the Atharvaveda as 'the healing charms'; on this and other descriptive names, with which the Atharvaveda was designated, see BLOOMFIELD 1899: 1.

The form *hotrān* is impossible because there exist *hotrá*- n. 'sacrificing', 'the function or office of *hot*<sub>r</sub>' and *hótrā*- f. 'sacrifice', or 'invocation', but not a corresponding masculine noun. I emend the text according to the reading of the ŚS.

Is it possible to read  $hot_a r\bar{a}$  for the sake of the metre?

**d**. The refrain is abbreviated in **K**, **JM** and **RM**, while the other manuscripts have it written in full.

## **15.14.2** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.17, bc: ŚS 3.10.9bc

rtūn brūma rtupatīn	#A
ārtavām uta hāyanān	A
samāḥ saṁvatsarān māsas	+#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address the seasons, the lords of the seasons, the seasonal ones and the years; the half years, the full years, the months: (let them...).

rtūn] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, rtūna **Mā** rtupatīn] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], rtupatīn **RM**, rtavatīn **K** ārtavām ārttavām **Or**, ārtavām **K** hāyanān] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, hāyinas **K** samāḥ] **Or**, samān **K** māsas] **Or**, mājahas **K** te ||] **Ku JM Pa**, te | **RM**, te no || **Mā** [**Ma**], te Z 2 Z **K** 

ŚS 11.6.17

rtún brūma rtupátīn ārtaván utá hāyanán | samah samvatsarán másāms té no muñcantv ámhasah ||

#### ŚS 3.10.9

rtún yaja rtupátīn ārtavān utá hāyanān | samvatsarān māsān bhūtásya pátaye yaje ||

# **15.14.3** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.10 = MS 2.7.13:94.15–16

divam brūmo nakṣatrāṇi	#A
bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān	A
samudrā nadyo veśantās	#A
te °°°	*A

We address heaven, the constellations, earth, spirits, mountains, oceans, rivers, ponds: (let them...).

nakṣatrāṇi] **Or**, nakṣattrāṇi **K** bhūmim] **Or**, bhaumam **K** parvatān] **Or**, pārvatān **K** nadyo] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, nidyo **RM** veśantās] **Or**, veśamtās **K** te ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, te | **RM**, te Z 3 Z **K** 

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ŚS 11.6.10 = MS 2.7.13:94.15–16
dívam brūmo nákṣatrāṇi bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān |
samudrā nadyò veśantās (MS veśantāms) té no muncantv amhasah ||
```

c. For the syntactic structure of this stanza, cf. PS 15.13.8.

# **15.14.4** [**Anuṣṭubh**] ŚS 11.6.11

sapta ṛṣīn vā idam brūmo	+#A
apo devīḥ prajāpatim	A
pitrn yamaśresthan brumas	#A
te °°°	*A

Even the seven seers we address here, the heavenly Waters, Prajāpati; the Fathers having Yama as their chief we address: (let them...).

rṣīn] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, rṣ{i}īn **JM**, rṣṭan **Pa** brūmo] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** K, brū{·}mo **JM** devīḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, devī{m} JM, devīm K yamaḥśreṣṭhān] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yamaḥśreṣṭhān **JM**, yamaḥśreṣṭhāni K brūmas] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** K, bramas **RM** ||| **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z K

## ŚS 11.6.11

saptarṣīn vā idám brūmo 'pó devīḥ prajāpatim | pitr̄n yamáśreṣṭhān brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**a**. One must read *saptarṣīn* for the metre. The manuscripts of the PS are not consistent in the treatment of the sandhi  $-a/-\bar{a}$  followed by r- (see e.g. BHATTACHARYA 1997: 27, 266, 606 etc.). Since all the manuscripts unanimously read *sapta* r- here, I have decided to keep this sandhi in

the text. For this sandhi, cf. LOPEZ 2010: 138.46 Based on the readings of all the manuscripts, LOPEZ edits sapta rsayah at PS 14.2.3c and sapta rsayo at PS 14.2.4a; ZEHNDER 1999: 152, at PS 2.66.5c, edits sapta +rsayo (following **K** against **Or**); LUBOTSKY 2002: 82, at PS 5.15.8a, edits sapta rṣayaḥ and reads sapta rṣayaḥ metri causa; GRIFFITHS 2009: 97 edits saptarṣayo at PS 6.7.9b (where only the ms. **RM** reads sapta rsayo; he further edits with all the manuscripts saptarşayo at 7.5.2c, saptarşaya's at 7.5.3b, saptarşibhir at 7.16.7a, saptarşivantam at 7.17.7a). Cf. further under PS 15.14.10b below.

## **15.14.5** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.19$

viśvān devān idam brūmaḥ	+#A
satyasandhān rtāvrdhaḥ	A
viśvābhiḥ patnībhiḥ sākam	#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

All the gods we address here, faithful, increasers of Rta, together with all their spouses: (let them...).

viśvān] JM [Ma] Pa K, viśvām Ku Mā viśve RM brūmaḥ] Or, brūmas K satyasandhān] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, satyasamdhān Ku viśvābhiḥ] Or, viśvābhiḥ K patnībhiḥ] Or, patnībhis K te || Ku JM Pa, te |  $\mathbf{RM}$  te no muñcantv amhasa $h \parallel [\mathbf{Ma}]$ , te no muñcatv amhasa $h \parallel \mathbf{Ma}$ , te no muñcantv amhasa $h \mathsf{Z} \mathsf{S} \mathsf{Z} \mathsf{K}$ 

#### ŚS 11.6.19

vísvān devān idám brūmah satyasamdhān rtavrdhah vísvābhih pátnībhih sahá té no muñcantv ámhasah ||

## **15.14.6** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.13$

ādityā rudrā vasavo	#A
devā daivā atharvāṇaḥ	+#A
angiraso manīṣiṇas	A
te ° ° °	*A

The Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus, the gods, the divine Atharvans, the wise Angirases: (let them...).

rudrā] K, rdrā Or vasavo] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, vasano Ku daivā atharvāṇaḥ] JM [Ma] Pa, daivā a{r}tharvāṇaḥ **RM**, daivānatharvāṇaḥ (→ daivā atharvāṇaḥ) **Ku**, daivānatharvāṇaḥ **Mā**, daivā atharvaṇaḥ **K** manīşiņas] JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, manīşiņaḥ Ku RM te ||] JM Mā [Ma] Pa, ste || Ku, ste | RM, te Z 6 Z K

#### ŚS 11.6.13

ādityā rudrā vásavo diví devā átharvānaļ

ángiraso manīşiņas té no muncantv ámhasah ||

**b**. The ŚS reads diví devā átharvānah, which Whitney translates, 'The gods in heaven, the Atharvan', then improving the translation in the note, 'The divine Atharvans in heaven' (thus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Lopez's two quotations of PS 6.7.9c are wrong: it is pāda 6.7.9b that is concerned. Lopez says: "Zehnder (1999) and Lubotsky (2002) also edit -a r-", but this is wrong again, because at PS 2.66.5c Zehnder edits sapta +rṣayo.

also Bloomfield). This translation seems better because the gods dwelling in heaven are mentioned in the first pada of the next stanza.

## **15.14.7** [**Anuştubh**] ŚS 11.6.12, ab: ŚS 10.9.12ab

ye devā diviṣado	A7
antarikṣasadaś ca ye	A
prthivyām śakrā ye śritās	#A
te ° ° °	A

The gods whose seat is in heaven and [those] whose seat is in the intermediate space, the mighty ones who stand on the earth: (let them...).

antarikṣasadaś] K, 'ntarikṣasadaś Or ye] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, {ý}ye Pa śakrā] RM, śatrā Mā [Ma] Pa, śa{ta}trā Ku, ś{r}akrā JM, cakrā K śritās] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, śitās RM, srjas K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma], | Pa RM, Z 7 Z K

#### ŚS 11.6.12

yé devá divisádo antariksasádas ca yé | pṛthivyām sakrá yé sritás té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

#### ŚS 10.9.12

yé devấ diviṣádo antarikṣasádaś ca yé yé cemé bhúmyām ádhi | tébhyas tvám dhukṣva sarvadấ kṣīrám sarpír átho mádhu ||

Bhattacharya edits  $\dot{s}akr\bar{a}^+$  in **c**, but the reading of **RM** now makes the "+"-sign unnecessary.

# **15.14.8** [Paṅkti] $\approx ŚS$ 11.6.18

eta devā dakṣiṇataḥ	#A
paścāt prāñca ud etana	A
purastāc chakrā uttarād	#A
viśve devāḥ samet¡ya	*A
te °°°	*A

O gods, come from the south, from the west come up eastwards. From the east, O mighty ones, from the north, all the gods, having come together: (let them...).

eta] **Or**, ye **K** dakṣiṇataḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**], kṣiṇataḥ **Pa**, dakṣiṇata **Mā**, dakṣiṇataḥ **K** paścāt] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, paścā **RM** udetana] **Or**, udetu naḥ **K** purastāc chakra] purastā śatrā **Ku Mā**, purastā chakra **JM**, purastāt cakrā **RM**, purastāt śatrā **Pa** [**Ma**], puraś cakrā **K** uttarād] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, uttarā **Mā** devāḥ] **Or**, devās **K** sametya] **Or**, sametu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

## ŚS 11.6.18

éta devā dakṣiṇatáḥ paścāt prāñca udéta | purástād uttarāc chakrā víśve devāḥ samétya té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits  $paśv\bar{a}t$  in **b**, which must be a misprint.

**b.** At the end of the line, the ŚS reads *udéta*; **K** reads *udetu naḥ*, which Barret emends to *udeta naḥ* (cf. WHITNEY 1905: 642: "Ppp. rectifies the metre of b by adding *nas* at the end"). The Orissa manuscripts have probably preserved a better reading, *udetana*, a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative with the ending *-tana*, which is better for the metre as well as the source from which the corrupt reading of **K** could derive. Therefore I follow Bhattacharya and adopt it in the text. On the imperative ending *-tana*, see BAUM 2006: 31–32.

# **15.14.9** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS} 11.6.16$

arāyān brūmo rakṣāṁsi	#A
sarpān puṇyajanān uta	A
mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ brūmas	+#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v aṁhasaḥ	*A

We address the Arāyas, the demons, the snakes and good people; the hundred and one deaths we address: let them free us from oppression.

arāyān] RM Mā [Ma] Pa, arāyānā Ku, arāyāna JM, rāyām K rakṣāmsi] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, rakṣāsi Ku muñcantv] K [Ma], muñcamtv Ku, muñcatv JM RM Mā, muñcanv Pa amhasaḥ ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma], amhasaṣā [[om. ||]] Pa, amhasaḥ | RM, amhasaḥ Z Z 9 Z K

ŚS 11.6.16 arấyān brūmo rákṣāmsi sarpấn puṇyajanấn pitr̄n | mṛtyūn ékasatam brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

- **a**. On the word ar aya- and its metrical behavior, see Griffiths 2009: 104. **K** reads r ayam, with the omission of initial a-; the alternation Or/SS arati- :: **K** rati- occurs in several passages of the PS (cf. Griffiths 2009: 339). The word ar aya- (translated inconsistently by Whitney as 'the niggard' or 'the ar ayas') seems to refer to "ein vor allem Frauen befallender Dämon" (cf. Zehnder 1999: 153–154), and has several attestations in the ŚS (2.25.3, 8.2.20, 8.6.4–6/12, 11.6.16, 16.6.7) and in the PS (i.a. 2.67.1–5, 6.8.6, 6.14.6–8, 7.11.7, 7.19.5, 16.79.4–6 etc.).
- **b.** Cf. ŚS 8.8.15ab (= ŚS 11.9.24cd = PS 16.30.5ab) gandharvāpsarásaḥ sarpān devān puṇyajanān pitṣ̄n 'The Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the snakes, the gods, the good people, the Fathers'. In the PS, a plural Dvanda-Compound sarpapuṇyajanās 'snakes and good people' is attested three times (PS 9.25.6a, 10.14.2a, 16.84.7b), and always appears in connection with the compound gandharvāpsaras-. It also occurs in VaitS 7.22, GB 1.3.11x and AVPariś 45.2.9. The reading pitṣ̄n in the ŚS, at the end of the line, is closer to the parallel passages, but the Fathers were already mentioned at 14.4c above.
- **d**. The refrain is written in full here and at 14.11.d because the stanza 14.10 has a different final pāda. The same situation is found at 13.6–8.

# **15.14.10** [Anuştubh] ŚS 11.6.22, d: cf. ŚS 11.6.9d

yā devīḥ pañca pradiśo	#A
ye devā dvādaśa rtavaḥ	A
samvatsarasya ye damṣṭrās	+#A
te naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ	A

They that are the five divine directions, that are the twelve divine seasons, that are the teeth of a full year: let them always be propitious to us.

devīḥ] **Or**, devīḥ **K** pañca] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, paṁca **Ku** pradiśo] **Or**, pradiśa **K** dvādaśartavaḥ] dvādaśarttavaḥ **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dvādaśārttavaḥ **Mā**, dvādaśatuvaḥ **K** saṁvatsarasya] **K Or**, saṁvatsarasyaṁ **Pa** ye] **Or**, te **K** naḥ] **Or**, nas **K** ||] **KU JM Mā Ma Pa**, | **RM**, Z 10 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.22

yấ devíh páñca pradíso yé devấ dvấdasa rtávah | samvatsarásya yé dámṣṭrās té naḥ santu sádā śivấḥ ||

## Bhattacharya edits *dvādaśarttavaḥ* in **b**.

- **b.** Bhattacharya edits  $dv\bar{a}da\acute{s}arttava\rlap/n$ , but gemination of the dental in such clusters is merely an orthographic feature of the Orissa manuscripts (cf. i.a. PS 6.11.3d, 7.6.1b, 13.2.3b etc.). For the sandhi, cf. my note at 15.4a above. Note that also all the ŚS manuscripts read here  $dv\acute{a}da\acute{s}a$   $rt\acute{a}va\rlap/n$  (see WHITNEY 1905: 643).
- c. The expression *samvatsarasya damṣṭra* (on which see GONDA 1984a: 13) also occurs at PS 1.63.2cd ( $\approx$  ŚS 10.5.43) *samvatsarasya* (ŚS *vaiśvānarásya*) *damṣṭrābhyām hetis tam sam adhād abhi* 'The missile has snapped upon him with the two fangs of the full year'.

# **15.14.11** [Anuştubh] $\approx \text{ŚS } 11.6.21$

bhūtam brūmo bhūtapatim	#A
bhūtānām uta yas patiḥ	A
bhūtāni sarvā brūmas	A7
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

Ghost we address, ghost-lord and [him] who is the lord of ghosts. All ghosts we address: let them free us from oppression.

bhūtānām] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, bhūtānāmm **Mā** muñcantv] **Ku** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, muñcatv **JM RM Mā** amhasaḥ || r 11 || 14 || śrī || **Ku JM**, amhasaḥ || r | 14 || śrī || **RM**, amhasaḥ || 14 || r 11 **Mā** [**Ma**], amhasaḥ || 14 || r 11 \* || \* || **Pa**, Z kā 5 ZZZ iti tṛtīyonuvākaḥ pañcadaśaḥ ZZ **K** 

#### ŚS 11.6.21

bhūtám brūmo bhūtapátim bhūtánām utá yó vasí | bhūtáni sárvā samgátya té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**bc**. The ŚS reads  $y \acute{o} v a \acute{s} \acute{t}$  'who is the ruler, the lord' at the end of **b**. The two variants are metrically equivalent and synonymous, so it is difficult to say which one is authentic. At the end of **c**, the reading  $sam g \acute{a}tya$  of the ŚS is metrically better than  $br\bar{u}mas$  of the PS.

#### 15.15. To the herb Arundhatī

PS 15, 16 and 17 form a composition of 28 connected stanzas, split over three hymns of ten, ten and eight stanzas, respectively (10 + 10 + 8).

The hymn, which praises the healing virtues of the herb *arundhatī*, can be divided into three or four parts. Until stanza 16.4 it is rather unitary: the redactor alternatively addresses the herb (stanzas 15.1–4, 15.7–9, 16.1–3) and a patient to be cured with the herb itself (stanzas 15.5–6, 10).

From stanza 16.4, the hymn acquires a formulaic character by means of a refrain repeated in pādas **cd** of every stanza until 17.7. Within this section, stanzas 16.4–17.4 form a subgroup in that they also share the same syntax and formulaic elements in pādas **ab**, while the three following stanzas form another subgroup in that they show a different structure in the first two verses. The stanza 17.8 then closes the hymn without the refrain.

There is no consensus at all as to what the word arundhati- precisely refers to, although scholars have speculated on its etymology at length (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 62, ZYSK 1985: 198-99, HAJNAL 1999: 90f.). However, this hymn and passages like PS 1.85.4cd = 8.7.10cd \*imām hy asmā oṣadhim ā harāmy arundhatīm 'For him I fetch this herb, Arundhatī', and PS 8.7.9cd kalmāşapuccham oşadhe jambhayāsy arundhati 'O herb, O Arundhatī, you will devour the spotted-tailed [viper]' make it clear that arundhati-must refer to a herb. As pointed out by ZYSK 1985: 97, "One of the most auspicious *óṣadhis* [...] is Arundhatī whose various forms were considered extremely efficacious in the treatment of broken limbs and flesh wounds. Because of her profound ability to bring about the cure of such infirmities, a mythology evolved, surrounding her and her various forms, which may be summarized as follows: She is described as a perennial, harmless, life-giving herb with a saving honey-sweet flower; and as sahádevī, she is said to protect quadrupeds (especially domestic ones), men and (small) birds from yákṣma and from harm. As róhanī, she is the healer of the severed bone. In her form as śilācī, she is called the gods' sister whose mother is the night, father, the cloud and grandfather, Yama [...]. As  $l\bar{a}ks\dot{a}$ , she is called the sister of the waters whose self has become the wind and is described as hairy-sided. As  $\dot{s}il\bar{a}c\dot{t}$  and  $l\bar{a}k\dot{s}\dot{a}$ , she is said to be very beautiful, golden, sun-and fire-colored and goat-brown, to be born from the blood of Yama's tawny horse and to be arising out of, mounting and creeping on trees. In the form of  $vis\bar{a}nak\bar{a}$ , she is said to have arisen from the fathers' root; and as  $pippal\bar{t}$ , she is mentioned as having been buried by the ásuras and dug up again by the gods".

Many features mentioned in this description occur also in our hymn, such as the herb's role of protector of bipeds and quadrupeds (15.155.2c), its healing power against *yákṣma* (15.17.8a) and its kinship with the gods (15.15.3ab). Moreover, when the redactor addresses the patient in stanzas 15.15.5–6, he invokes the waters, the wind, the sun and the night, which are all entities connected with the imagery of Arundhatī, as mentioned above.

Besides contributing to our knowledge of the properties and healing virtues of Arundhatī, this hymn confirms that there must have been a close connection between the herb and Rudra, as was already suggested by PS 2.20, a hymn for protection addressed to Rudra and Bhava-Śarva, which ends with a stanza in praise of Arundhatī (see ZEHNDER 1999: 65).

In our hymn, this connection is clearer and more deeply developed, as it takes the form of a list of seven names of Rudra occurring in the following order in stanzas 16.7–17.3: Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, Īśāna. The herb, it is said, can heal anyone who is

struck by these gods (viz. by their arrows). The mention of Rudra and his various forms is even more significant in that it echoes the occurrence of some of Rudra's embodiments referred to at 15.13.10ab, and also anticipates hymns 15.20–21, which are entirely devoted to Rudra.

Moreover, it is certainly not a coincidence that the list of the names of Rudra occurring in our hymn corresponds to the list found in the seven stanzas of ŚS 15.5, which belongs to the *vrātyakāṇḍa*; one of the principal divinities worshipped by the *vrātyas* was indeed Rudra, as hinted by his epithets in the long Śatarudriya litany that accompanies the 425 oblations to Rudra on the completion of the brick-piled fire altar. As I have already suggested in the Introduction, this correspondence, together with the large presence of Rudra in the hymns of the PS, may be considered a small piece of evidence that groups of Paippalādins could have shared (at least) some aspects of the Vrātyas' culture.

Finally, the hymn provides clear evidence that the herb Arundhatī was also used to cure a disease called  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k\bar{a}ra$  (=  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}kra$ ). The dictionaries translate it simply as 'eine bestimmte Krankheit' (PW) or 'a particular disease of the eyes' (MW), while the interpretations of the scholars fall broadly into two categories, depending on the etymology accepted for the first part of the compound,  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}$ -.

The majority of scholars have followed the explanation of Sāyaṇa, who connected the name of the disease with the word for 'wind',  $v \dot{a}ta$ - (for instance,  $ad \dot{S}S 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c$  Sāyaṇa glosses  $v \bar{a}t \dot{t} k r ta$  as  $v \bar{a}tarog \bar{a}v i s ta \dot{s}ar \bar{r}ra$  'the body possessed by the wind-disease').

Although WHITNEY 1905: 313 already admitted that " $v\bar{a}t\dot{t}k_rta$ , like  $v\bar{a}t\bar{t}k_ar\dot{a}$ , is too doubtful to render" and "its derivation from  $v\bar{a}ta$  'wind' is extremely unsatisfactory", most of the scholars have interpreted the word in such a way.

ZYSK 1985: 32 n. 9 renders the word as "a symptom of injury caused by a wound". Although he himself admits that the exact meaning of  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k_rta$  is in question, he nevertheless proposes that it "may be rendered as 'that which is made to become wind', i.e. a type of stomach or intestinal upset" (p. 212), again defining it as "a symptom manifested by a victim of a wound [...] which suggests a type of dyspepsia" (p. 213).

FILLIOZAT 1949:140, discussing the compound  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k_rtan\dot{a}\dot{s}an\bar{\imath}$ , points out that "cette expression signifiant 'qui détruit ce qui est transformé en vent' et non pas 'qui détruit ce qui est fait par le vent'. D'ailleurs ce composé qualifie un remède qui est dit au vers précédent 'remède du flux (diarrhéique, probablement)'  $\hat{a}sr\hat{a}vabhesaj\acute{a}m$ , et le vent en question est sans doute celui des intestins", adding in a footnote, "D'ailleurs  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra$  [...] qui paraît être une autre forme de  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}krta$  — ne peut signifier que 'ce qui produit du vent'". According to him, this is the only possible interpretation: "Mais nous venons de voir que  $v\hat{a}t\hat{\imath}krta$  était 'ce qui est transformé en vent' (il n'est pas grammaticalement possible de l'interpréter autrement)" (p. 141).

Along the same line of interpretation, WACKERNAGEL 1908: 131 (= 1969: 1352) renders  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k_rta$ - as 'dem Wind ausgeliefert', while RENOU 1957a: 65 translates it 'changé en vent', but rather inconsistently interprets the compound  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k_rtabheṣaj\bar{i}$  as 'used (f.) as a remedy against  $v\bar{a}ta$  (plant)' (RENOU 1957b: 99).

SCHINDLER 1980: 386 n. 7 rejects the meaning 'zum Wind machend' for  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}r\dot{a}$ , and cautiously suggests 'Windmacher', noting that "Anscheinend hat sich vor kr- der Ersatz von - a- durch - $\bar{\imath}$ - vereinzelt auch auf Bildungen ausgebreitet, denen die Bedeutung 'machen' und nicht 'zu etwas machen' zugrunde liegt".

LUBIN 2007: 90–92 offers a more detailed study of the word; the core of his interpretation is based on an analysis of PS.15.16 ff. While the stanzas PS 15.16.4–6 show a connection between

the disease and shooting, making clear that anyone who is afflicted by  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra$  must have suffered from a puncture wound, the following stanzas seems to establish a relationship between the disease itself and Rudra. Lubin concludes that "considering the nature of the injury and its effects, the word's seeming connection with the wind, and the fact that is was considered an apt epithet for Rudra", a meaning 'lightning-bolt', 'lightning-striking' is conceivable, also on account of the association of storms and wind with Rudra. He admits, however, that other interpretations are possible, and mentions two other possibilities, namely, that  $v\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra$  refers to an infection associated with a wound caused by an arrow or a bite, or to an outbreak of unopened sores, boils or pustules.

A different explanation has been proposed by HOFFMANN 1967: 26 note 3 (= 1976: 466 note 3) and accepted by Mayrhofer (cf. EWAia s.v.  $v\acute{a}ta$ -). According to Hoffmann, the name of the disease has nothing to do with the wind and should be connected with the root  $V\bar{A}^2$  'erlöschen, dahinschwinden, ermatten'.

Neither Hoffmann nor Mayrhofer have explained the form in detail, but it seems clear enough that they interpret  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k\bar{a}ra$  /  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k\gamma ta$ - as meaning 'procuring vanishment, fatigue'.

This etymological solution, which is more satisfactory, does not preclude the connection of the disease with a wound caused by an arrow (be it Rudra's or not), a puncture wound or bite, as pointed out by Lubin.

This hymn is quite clearly linked with the preceding one: *ugra* in 15.1c and *ugreṇa* in 17.1a correspond with *ugraḥ* in 13.10b; *oṣadhe* in 15.1c, *oṣadhīḥ* in 15.6d and *oṣadhīm* in 15.7b with *oṣadhīr* in 13.1b; *vātaḥ* in 15.5c with *vātam* in 13.5a; *bṛhaspatiḥ* in 15.5c with *bṛhaspatim* in 13.1c and *sūryaḥ* in 15.1b, 5d with *sūryam* in 13.1c.

## **15.15.1** [Anuştubh] a: PS 19.9.10a, ab: PS 7.11.10ab, c: cf. PS 7.11.10c

yāvad dyaur yāvat pṛthivī	#A
yāvat paryeti sūr <sub>i</sub> yaḥ	*A
tāvat tvam ugra oṣadhe	A
pari pāh <sub>i</sub> y arundhati	*A

As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, O fearsome herb, protect [me] around, O Arundhatī.

yāvad] RM, yāva Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, yovad K dyaur] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, dyau Mā yāvat] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, yā Mā yāvat] Or, yavāt K tāvat] K, tāva Or tvam] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, tvām Ku ugra oṣadhe] Or, ugroṣadhī K arundhati] K, aṛndhati Or |||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z Z 1 Z K

As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: 371, the text of this stanza in nearly identical to that of PS 7.11.10 yāvad dyaur yāvat pṛthivī yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ / +tāvat tvam ugra gulgulo parīmām pāhi viśvataḥ 'As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, o fearsome Gulgulu, protect her here, all around', and its structure is to be compared with that of PS 4.22.4 yāvat sūryo vitapati yāvac cābhi vipaśyati / tāvad viṣasya dūṣaṇam vaco nir mantrayāmahe 'As far as the sun heats up, and as far as it overlooks: so extensive an utterance do we use as mantra, to spoil poison', and PS 19.9.10 yāvad dyaur yāvat pṛthivī yāvad ābhāti sūryaḥ / tāvat sṛjāmi te viṣam yāvad arṣanti sindhavaḥ 'As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth] — as far as the sun gives light: so far do I hurl your poison [away], as far as the rivers flow' (Griffiths's translations). For the structure of the stanza, one

could compare also PS 5.27.3ac yāvatī dyāvāprthivī varimnā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo mahitvā / tāvatī nirṛtir viśvavārā 'As great as are Heaven and Earth in width, as much as are the seven rivers in greatness, so great is Nirrti' (Lubotsky). Pāda c occurs in similar passages in which a herb is part of a comparison expressed by yathā... eva: cf. PS 1.98.1c = PS 4.20.6c  $\approx$  PS 19.41.17c evā tvam ugra osadhe 'Thus you, O fearsome herb'. See further PS 11.12.1c darbho ya ugra osadhis 'The darbha which [is] a fearsome herb'.

<b>15.15.2</b> [Anuştubh] ab: PS only, c: PS 1.65.3, cd: RV 10.97.20cd, TS 4.2.6	6.5, VSM 12.95cd
ariṣṭas tuvā khanatiy	*#A
ariṣṭāya khanāmi tvā	+#A
dvipāc catuṣpād asmākam	#A
sarvam ast.,v anāturam	*A

Unharmed, he digs you up. I dig you up for the sake of (him) being unharmed. Let every biped and quadruped of ours be uninjured.

ariṣṭas] Ku RM Mā [Ma] K, ariṣṭās JM Pa tvā khanaty] Or, tvākhanat K ariṣṭāya] Or, pariṣṭāya K dvipāc] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, dvipā Mā asmākam] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, āsmākam JM sarvam] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, sarva JM, sarvas K astv] Ku Pa Mā [Ma], 'stv JM, asv RM, atv K anāturam] anāturam Or, anāparamm K || JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, Z 2 Z K

 $\text{RV} 10.97.20 = \text{TS} 4.2.6.5, \text{VSM} 12.95 \approx \text{PS} 1.65.3$ mấ vo risat khanitấ yásmai cāhám khánāmi vaḥ dvipác cátuspad asmákam sárvam astv anāturám ||

mā te +riṣam khanitā yasmai ca tvā khanāmasi | dvipāc catuṣpād asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe ||

PS 1.65.3 (ab = PS 9.3.2cd, 19.42.15ab)

**ab**. The first two pādas express the same idea of the parallel passages of the other Samhitās, but with a simpler, asyndetic syntax. In a, K reads tvākhanat 'one dug you up'. The imperfect is very attractive here, in opposition to the present tense of the next line (especially if compared with a passage like SS 4.4.1 = PS 4.5.1 yām tvā gandharvó ákhanad váruņāya mṛtábhraje tắm tvā vayám khanāmasy óṣadhim śepahárṣaṇīm 'We dig you up, the herb causing erection, which the Gandharva dug up for Varuna, whose virility was dead'). Note the chiastic structure at the end of the two verses ( $tv\bar{a}$  khanaty — khanāmi  $tv\bar{a}$ ).

cd. On Arundhatī as protector of cattle and men, see  $SS 6.59 \approx PS 19.14.10-12$ , which I quote in extenso: anadúdbhyas tvám prathamám dhenúbhyas tvám arundhati | ádhenave váyase śárma yacha cátuspade || śárma yachatv óṣadhiḥ sahá devī́r arundhatī́ | kárat páyasvantaṁ gosthám ayaksmám utá púrusān || visvárūpām subhágām achávadāmi jīvalám | sá no rudrásyāstām hetím dūrám nayatu góbhyah 'O Arundhatī, give protection to the draft-oxen first, to the cows, to the cow which yields no milk, to splendour, to the quadruped. May the herb Arundhatī, which stays with the gods, 47 give protection. It will make the cow-pen full of

<sup>47</sup> The translation follows the emendation of sahá devīr to sahádevī, for which see WHITNEY 1905: 325. He admits that sahádevī "may be here simply the name of the plant" (this is also the interpretation given by Sāyaṇa) "but yet milk and the men free from *yakṣma*. I speak to the one having all forms, prosperous, full of life. So let it lead the missile thrown by Rudra far from our cattle'. A similar phrasing occurs also at RV 1.114.1cd *yáthā śám ásad dvipáde cátuṣpade víśvam puṣṭám grắme asmínn anāturám* 'so that weal there may be for the biped and the quadruped, [so that] every wealth in this village [may be] free of damage'. On the meaning of *(an)āturá*-, see ZYSK 1985: 316. Cf. also PS 15.16.1c below.

**15.15.3** [**Anuṣṭubh**] a: PS 19.13.6b, d: RV 10.97.17d = TS 4.2.6.5 = ŚS 6.109.2d (for a cf. ŚS 5.5.1d = ŚS 6.100.3b = PS 6.4.1d, RV 2.32.6b = ŚS 7.46.1b = PS 20.11.12b; for c cf. RV 10.97.17c)

devān₁ām asi svasā	A
marutām asi sañcarī	A
yaṁ jīvam aśnuṣe t <sub>u</sub> vaṁ	*A
na sa rişyāti pūruşaḥ	Α

You are the sister of the gods, you are the companion of the Maruts. The man, whom you reach alive, will not get hurt.

devānām asi] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, devānāsi **RM**, tevānām **K** marutām] maŗtām **Or**, ma···**K** sañcarī] **Or**, siñcanī **K** yaṁ] **Ku K**, yaṁ **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** jīvam] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, jījavam **Pa** aśnuṣe] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, aśnuse **Mā** riṣyāti] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, riṣyati **RM**, riṣyāt **K** pūruṣaḥ] pūṛṣaḥ **Or**, pauruṣaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

PS 19.13.6ab asurānām asi duhitā devānām asi svasā |

 $\mathbb{R}$ V 10.97.17cd =  $\mathbb{S}$ S 6.109.2cd =  $\mathbb{T}$ S 4.2.6.5 yám jīvám aśnávāmahai ná sá rişyāti ptruṣaḥ  $\mathbb{I}$ 

## Bhattacharya edits <u>sañcarī</u> in **b**.

**a**. Note the erroneous reading of **K**  $tev\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ ; the confusion between -t- and -d- in this same word occurs at 6.9a above. As in the parallel texts listed above, it seems that the redactor wants to establish a kinship between the plant and the gods.

**b**. The interpretation of this pāda is problematic because of the form  $sa\tilde{n}car\bar{\iota}$ , which is the reading of all the Orissa manuscripts. I adopt it as the best one regarding both the formation and the meaning. It can be interpreted as a derivative from the verb samcar- 'to go together, meet, join' (on the writing of -mc- as  $-\tilde{n}c$ - in the Orissa manuscripts, see my note at 11.2c), meaning 'the one (f.) who moves together, companion' (for the formation in  $-car\hat{\iota}$ -, see AiGr. II/2, § 250, pp. 402–403 and cf. the later attested formations  $anucar\bar{\iota}$ - 'a female attendant',  $sahacar\bar{\iota}$ - 'a female companion' etc.). The hapax  $sa\tilde{n}car\bar{\iota}$ , which is the oldest attestation of this type of formation, could have had the function of highlighting the kinship between the plant and the gods.

It has to be noted that also the reading of  $\mathbf{K}$  si $\tilde{n}$ can $\tilde{\iota}$  is very attractive. Considering the mention of the Maruts, to whom the root sic- 'to pour' is often associated, and the use of the

<sup>-</sup>

of PS 6.4.1, 15.15.3 etc., where the poet, ascribing divine relatives to the plant, seems to establish a kinship between the plant itself and the gods (see next stanza).

imperative  $(anu)si\tilde{n}ca$  addressed to the plant at 15.9a, it would be tempting to adopt the reading of **K** and interpret it as a feminine formation in  $-\bar{i}$  with the suffix -ana- from the root sic-.

According to AiGr. II/2, § 89d, p. 203, radical nouns in -ana- can retain the nasal of the present stem, so that from the root sic- (present  $si\tilde{n}c\acute{a}ti$ ) we have next to each others the "regular" formation with the root in the full grade secana- 'sprinkling, watering' and the formation with the nasal infix  $si\tilde{n}cana$ - 'id'. As to the correspondent feminines, next to  $secan\bar{t}$ - one would expect  $si\tilde{n}can\bar{t}$ -, the form actually attested in **K**. If the interpretation of the noun as nomen actionis is correct, the translation of the verse would be 'You are the sprinkling of the Maruts', which would suit the context as well. The only problem is that is not easy to explain the confusion between  $r\bar{t}$  and  $n\bar{t}$  in Oriya script, while the two akṣaras are very similar in the Śarada script. The reading of **K** could have been also favoured by the presence of the verb anu  $si\tilde{n}ca$  at 15.9a.

## **15.15.4** [Anuştubh] PS only, bc: PS 7.10.6bc

arundhatī nāmā <sub>a</sub> si	*#A
trtīyasyām ito divi	A
tatrāmṛtasya rohaṇam	A
tena tvāchā vadāmasi	A

You are called Arundhatī, in the third heaven from here. There is the mounting of immortality. Therefore we invite you.

arundhatī] K, arndhatī Or ito] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, rto JM rohaṇam] JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, rohaṇAM Ku, rohaṇ{·}am RM tvāchā] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, tvachā Mā, tvāśchā K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 4 Z

PS 7.10.6 aśvattho devasadanas tṛtīyasyām ito divi | tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇaṁ tataḥ kuṣṭho 'jāyata | sah (...) ||

**bc**. On the tripartite division of heaven, cf. LÜDERS 1951: 57–62 and KLAUS 1986: 42–44. 173.

For the interpretation of these pādas, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 356–57, who discusses the formulaic elements of this stanza and the parallel passages in which they are attested. He notes that the opening tátrāmitasya ... is combined with various nouns (cakṣaṇaṁ, cétanaṁ etc.), but he does not quote this passage from PS 15, in which it is combined with the noun rohaṇa-'growing'. The occurrence of this noun, derived from the root ruh- 'to ascend, mount, climb', may conceal a reference to the name róhaṇā, with which the herb Arundhatī was also called. See ZYSK 1985: 198, "The word róhaṇā, being derived from the root ruh, 'to grow', seems to mean [...] 'one who makes grow', i.e. in the context with a broken bone, 'a healer''. Another interpretation of the name as 'the one who climbs [the trees]' could also have played a role here (as the herb was a kind of creeper plant). On the idea of mounting the heaven, the realm of immortality, cf. RV 1.52.9abc bṛhát sváścandram ámavad yád ukthɨyàm ákṛṇvata bhiyásā róhaṇaṁ diváḥ 'With fear they (the gods) made the mounting of heaven, which was high, self-brilliant, powerful, praiseworthy'. See also PS 2.20.5b = 9.11.10c (both of which refer to

Arundhatī) = 19.30.12d *amṛtasyeva vā asi* 'Du gehörst wahrlich gewissermassen zur Unsterblichkeit' (Zehnder).

## **15.15.5** [Anuştubh] PS only

<sup>+</sup> śam ta āpo *hrad <sub>i</sub> yāḥ	*A7
+śam te kulij <sub>i</sub> yā uta	*A
śam vātaḥ śam bṛhaspatiḥ	A
śam te tapatu sūr <sub>i</sub> yaḥ	*A

Weal for you [may be] the waters of the pond and weal for you [may be the waters] of the jugs. Weal [may be] the wind, weal [may be] Bṛhaspati; let the sun burn weal for you.

śam ta āpo] śan ta āpo **Or**, chandhāpo **K** \*hradyāḥ] hrdyāḥ **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, hrdyaḥ **JM**, dadyāś **K** śam te] śan te **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], śa{nt+e}nte **Pa**, chande **K** kulijyā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], kuliyā **Pa**, kulajyā **K** vātaḥ] **Or**, vātaś **K** brhaspatiḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, brhaspati **Mā** śam] **K**, śan **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *hṛdyāḥ* in **a**.

This and the following stanza are addressed to the patient.

- **a**. The reading  $h_r dy \bar{a}h$  of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts is not incorrect, but the mention of the water 'of the heart' (i.e. 'internal') does not suit the context. The emendation to \* $hrady\bar{a}h$  'of the pond' is supported by the parallel passage TS 7.4.13.1, which consists in a series of mantras accompanying offerings to the waters; among them, one recites  $hrady\bar{a}bhyah$   $svah\bar{a}$  'To [the waters of] the pond, hail!'. See further my comment on **b** below.
- b. The interpretation of *kulijyā* is problematic. It could be somehow related to *kulija*-, n. 'a particular vessel' (later 'a sort of measure'), which is attested three times in the KauśS and from which derives the hapax *kulijinīr* found at PS 4.17.6e. In the three attestations of the KauśS, *kulija* always appears as member of compounds: KauśS 12.6 *udakulija* 'a jug filled with water', 12.7 *surākulija* 'a jug filled with Surā', 43.3 *kulijakṛṣṭa* whose meaning Caland was unable to determine exactly and which is probably a corrupt reading (see CALAND 1900: 147–148). The PS hapax *kulijin* means 'having, carrying a jug', cf. PS 4.17.6cde *tās te viṣaṁ vi jahrira udakaṁ kumbhinīr iva kūpāt kulijinīr iva* 'They have brought your poison backwards, like women carrying pots, like women carrying jugs [bring] water from a well'. If we assume that *kulijya* is a -*ya* derivative from *kulija* meaning 'relating, pertaining to a jug', and that in this pāda the word *āpas* is to be understood again, the translation would be 'and weal for you [may be] the ones (i.e. the waters) of the jugs', with a parallelism between *hradyāḥ* and *kulijyā*.

Another solution would be to assume an ancient graphic mistake y > jy in both **Or** and **K** and emend the text to \* $kuly\bar{a}$ , interpreting '[water] pertaining to the rivers, to the streams'. This emendation would be partially supported also by the reading  $kuliy\bar{a}$  of **Pa** — no matter how casual it may be. The word  $kuly\bar{a}$ , which occurs also at PS 1.29.3a, is probably a late Vedic ya-derivative from  $kuly\dot{a}$  'small river, canal' (see EWAia I, 377 and ZEHNDER 1993: 54).

The TS passage quoted above would give another argument in favour of this emendation; among the series of mantra addressed to the waters, next to the one referring to the waters of the ponds, we find one mantra referring to the water of the stream  $(k\hat{u}ly\bar{a}bhyah sv\hat{a}h\bar{a}$  'To [the waters of] the stream, hail!').

d. Cf. RV 8.18.9bc śám naḥ tapatu súryaḥ | śám vắto vātv arapá 'Weal for us may the sun burn, weal may the wind blow, not hurting', ŚS 7.69.1ab śám no vắto vātu śám nas tapatu súryaḥ 'Weal for us may the wind blow, weal for us may the sun burn, ŚS 8.2.14cd = PS 16.4.4cd śám te súrya á tapatu śám vắto vātu te hṛdé 'Weal for you may the sun heat, weal may the wind blow in your heart' and PS 6.23.7ab aśam asyai vāto vātv aśam tapatu sūryaḥ 'Unfavorably may the wind blow for her, unfavorably may the sun burn'. On the verb tapati, see BLAIR 1961 (especially pp. 27, 35 and 118). The use of the word śam is common in this context because the waters, the sun and the wind were believed to have a beneficial power against enemies, diseases etc.

## **15.15.6** [Anuştubh] PS only, b: ŚS 7.69.1d = PS 20.34.1d, d: cf. PS 16.4.4g

śam ta indrāgnī bhavatām	#A
śam rātrī prati dhīyatām	A
śam te prthivyām vīrudhaḥ	#A
śam u te sant <sub>u</sub> v oṣadhīḥ	*A

Weal for you may Indra and Agni be, weal may the Night draw near. Weal for you [may be] the plants on the earth, and weal for you may be the herbs.

śam ta] K, śan ta Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, śan na JM indrāgnī] Ku Mā [Ma] K, indrāgī JM, īndrāgnī RM, indrāgn{i} Pa rātrī] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K, rātri JM, ratrī RM prati] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, ti RM, pravi K śam] Ku JM Pa [Ma] K, śan RM Mā vīrudhaḥ] K, vīrdhaḥ Or śam u te] Or, saha vas K santv] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, syantv Mā oṣadhīḥ] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K, oṣadhīḤ JM, oṣadhiḥ RM ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K

ŚS 7.69.1cd áhāni śáṁ bhavantu naḥ śáṁ rấtrī práti dhīyatāṁ ||

- **b**. Whitney translates awkwardly, 'Weal let the night be applied', commenting, "All [*scil*. the parallel texts] have alike in **d** the strange expression *práti dhīyatāṁ*". Griffith's rendering 'May night draw near delightfully' seems better. On the meaning 'to approach' of the verb *pratidhā*-, used in the passive, see PW III, 921.48
- Cf. also ŚańkhGS 4.18.2b ≈ PārGS 3.2.12b suhemantaḥ suvasantaḥ sugrīṣmaḥ pratidhīyatān 'May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer draw near'.
- **d**. The particle u is used here with clear conjunctive, not-coreferential role, in the context of a stylistic anaphora. On this resumptive use of u within a series of repeated terms and its connection with adverbs, see KLEIN 1985: 33, 35 and 1978: 124 ff.

## **15.15.7** [Anuştubh] PS only, cd: PS 15.16.3cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

bahvīṣu hi tvām avidam	#A
oṣadhīṁ vīr¡yāvatīm	*A
arundhati tvām āhārṣam	#A
ito mā pārayān iti	A

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The passive form *dhīyáte* has been studied by KULIKOV 2012: 102–105, who, however, does not quote any example of the verb with the prefix *prati*.

Since among many [plants] I have just found you, the powerful herb; O Arundhatī, I brought you here [with the intention]: "They will protect me from this".

bahvīṣu] **Or**, bahvīkṛ **K** avidam] **Or**, avidha(→ga)m **K** oṣadhīm] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], oṣadhim **Ku**, **Pa**, oṣadhi **K** vīryāvatīm] vīryāvatīm **RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vīryāvatām **Ku**, vi{m}ryāvatim **JM**, vīryāvatī **K** arundhati] **K**, aṛndhati **Or** āhārṣam] **Or**, āhārṣim **K** pārayān] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pārayā{m}n **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

#### PS 5.23.2

satyajitam śapathayāvanīm sahamānām punaḥsarām | sarvāḥ sam +ahvy oṣadhīr ito mā pārayān iti ||

#### PS 11.6.10cd

āvitsi sarvā oṣadhīr ito mā pārayān iti ∥

**d**. This pāda is out of place in this stanza, and it is clearly a quotation from the parallel passages listed above, where the subject of the action — in both cases, the herbs — is easily understood. The intention of the practitioner is obviously that the herb Arundhatī will grant protection.

## **15.15.8** [**Anuştubh**] PS only

abhiprepseva jīvantam	+#A
*avidasyed arundhatī	A
*eṣātividdhabheṣajī	A
devī vātīkṛtasya ca	A

Try to reach him while he is alive! Arundhatī is indeed inexhaustible. That one (f.) is the wounded-curing goddess and [the one curing] Vātīkāra.

abhiprepseva] **Or**, abhiprepsī upa **K** jīvantam] **Or**, jīvantim **K** \*avidasyed] abhi dasyed **Or**, agadhaś ced **K** arundhatī] **K**, arndhatī **Or** \*eṣātividdhabheṣajī] eṣā da vidvabheṣajī **Ku RM**, eṣā da bhidv(dy?)abheṣajī **JM**, eṣāt davidvyabheṣajī **Pa**, eṣā davidvyabheṣajī **Mā** [**Ma**], eṣā ca viśvabheṣajī **K** vātīkrtasya ca] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vātikrtasya ca **RM**, vātīkrtascana **K** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *abhi dasyed* in **b** and *eṣādaviddyabheṣajī* in **c**.

- **a**. The sequence *abhiprepseva* can be analyzed as *abhiprepsa* plus *iva*; the verbal form is an imperative of the desiderative from *abhiprāp* 'to reach, obtain'. The same  $2^{nd}$  singular imperative form, without preverbs, is attested at TB 2.7.14.1– $2^{3\times}$  = PB 20.3. $2^{3\times}$  (cf. HEENEN 2006: 89 ff.). Although the meaning of the compound verb does not differ significantly from that of the uncompounded one, the two preverbs, however, stress the directional sense of the action.
- Cf. PS 1.80.3a jarāmrtyum prepsatu jīva eṣa 'This one, living, shall reach the death in old age'.
- **b**. I emend the reading of **Or** *abhi dasyed* to \**avidasyed* and interpret this sequence as  $avidasy\bar{a} + id$ . The adjective  $avidasy\hat{a}$  means 'not ceasing, inexhaustible' and is attested at  $\mathbb{R}V$  7.39.6c, where it qualifies the word  $ray\hat{i}$ -:  $dh\hat{a}t\bar{a}$   $ray\hat{i}m$   $avidasy\hat{a}m$   $sad\bar{a}s\hat{a}m$  'Give not ceasing, always lasting wealth'.

- **c**. Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus to read  $e \bar{s} \bar{a} t i v i d d h a b h e \bar{s} a j \bar{\imath}$  'that one (f.) is the wounded-curing'. I tentatively adopt his emendation, even if all the Orissa manuscripts point to a form with initial david-. The reading of **K** is correct, but it is certainly the *lectio facilior*.
- **d**. The syntax is not plain. An adjective like *bheṣajī* must be supplied, as if the redactor wants to create a *variatio* between the compound *viśvabheṣajī* and the construction with the genitive *vātīkṛtasya* [*bheṣajī*] (cf. PS 15.15.9c below).

On the word  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}k\bar{a}ra$  (=  $v\bar{a}t\bar{i}kra$ ), see the introduction to this hymn.

# **15.15.9** [**Anuṣṭubh**] PS only, bcd: PS 15.15.10bcd, c: ŚS 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c

anu șiñca nas tat kur <sub>u</sub> v	*#A
agado vai bhaviṣyati	A
vātīkṛtasya bheṣaj <sub>i</sub> y	*A
āgan deviy arundhatī	*A

Pour upon us, make this [for us]. Surely he will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vātīkāra, has come here.

anu] **Or**, ani **K** şiñca] **Ku JM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, since **RM**, śiñca **Mā** nas] **Or**, naś **K** tat kurv] **Or**, cakrurdhy **K** agado] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, aṣado **JM** bhaviṣyati] **Or**, bhaviṣyasi **K** āgan] **Ku** [**Ma**], āgaṁ **JM Mā Pa K**, om. **RM** arundhatī] **K**, aṛndhatī **Or** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 10 Z Z kāṇḍa Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *bhaviṣyati* in **b**.

**b**. It seems clear to me that in pāda **b** we should follow the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and read *bhaviṣyati*, since the plant is addressed in pāda **a** but the following line obviously refers to the patient. In the next stanza, on the contrary, the patient is addressed in pāda **a** (*mā bibher na mariṣyasy*), so that *bhaviṣyasi* in **b** suits perfectly the context. Cf. PS 9.13.8ab *mā bibher na mariṣyasi jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* 'Do not be afraid, you will not die. You will become one who attains old age'.

The word *agadá*- 'free from disease' is attested twice in the RV, 8 times in the ŚS and 18 times in the PS. Literally, it means 'free from the *gada*-disease', but it is not clear to which kind of disease *gada* refers (cf. EWAia I, 460, with references). It is probable that the original meaning of the word *agadá*- had already become opaque to the redactor, who used it in the sense of 'healthy, sane'. 49

**15.15.10** [**Anuştubh**] PS only, a: ŚS 5.30.8a, PS 2.2.3a, 9.13.8a (cf. PS 16.5.4b), bcd: PS 15.15.9bcd

mā bibher na mariṣyas <sub>i</sub> y	*A
agado vai bhaviṣyasi	A
vātīkŗtasya bheṣaj <sub>i</sub> y	*A
āgan dev <sub>i</sub> y arundhatī	*A

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> KIM 2010: 217 analyzes the word *agadá s.v. vi-gadá*, but his interpretation is marred by a misunderstanding of the name of the disease as "*agadá*-Krankheit" (or are there just several misprints?) and by incorrect translations (e.g., ŚS 5.29,6–9 *agadò 'yám astu* means 'Let this one here be free from disease' and not, as Kim translates it, "dieser soll die *agadá*-Krankheit sein").

Do not be afraid, you will not die. Surely you will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vātīkāra, has come here.

 $m\bar{a}\dots$ arundhatī om. K• bhavişyasi] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], bhavi $\{\cdot\}$ şya $\{\cdot\}$ si Pa āgan] Ku [Ma], āgam JM Mā, agan RM, āga $\{ndh\}$ n Pa arundhatī] arndhatī Or  $\|\cdot\|$  | 15  $\|\cdot\|$  Ku,  $\|\cdot\|$  10  $\|\cdot\|$  15  $\|\cdot\|$  JM,  $|\cdot\|$  15  $|\cdot\|$  RM,  $\|\cdot\|$  15  $\|\cdot\|$  RM,  $\|\cdot\|$  10  $\|\cdot\|$  Mā [Ma] Pa

ŚS 5.30.8ab

mā bibher ná marişyasi jarádaşţim kṛṇomi tvā |

PS 2.2.3ab

mā bibher na marişyasi pari tvā pāmi viśvataḥ |

PS 16.5.4ab

so 'riṣṭa na mariṣyasi na mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ |

This stanza is not found in **K**.

#### 15.16. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

## 15.16.1 [Anuştubh] PS only

arundhatyaḥ saṁ vadante	+A
gāvaḥ pravrājinīr iva	A
yam āturam abhigachāma-	°A
-āvataṁ *kṛṇavāmā tam	A

The Arundhatī herbs speak to each other like wandering cows: "We will stay near him whom we reach sick".

arundhatyaḥ arındhatyaḥ Ku RM Pa [Ma], arındhatya JM, arındhayaḥ Mā, arundhatyas K sami] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, sam Mā, yam K gāvaḥ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, gāvam JM, grāvāḥ K pravrājinīr] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, pravrājinir RM yam āturam] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, yam āTUram Ku, imā tvaram K abhigachāmāvatami] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, abhigachāmavatam RM, ivagaśchāmāvadhim K \*kṛṇavāma] kṛṇumāva Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, kṛ {ṇa}ṇumāva Pa tam] tam Or, tim K ||| Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 1 Z K

Bhattacharya edits kṛṇu māvatam in **d**.

- **a**. The verb *samvad* 'speak together' is often followed by an istrumental (with or without *saha*: cf. RV 10.97.22a *óṣadhayaḥ sám vadante sómena sahá rấjñā* 'The herbs speak together with Soma, [their] king', ŚS 11.4.6b *abhívṛṣṭā óṣadhayaḥ prāṇéna sám avādiran* 'The herbs, being rained, talked together with *prāṇa*'), but it is attested also alone (cf. ŚS 6.109.2ab = PS 19.27.8ab *pippalyàh sám avadantāyatīr jánanād ádhi* 'The berries talked together, coming from their birth'). In the medium, *saṃvad* has a clear reciprocal meaning (see GOTŌ 1987: 282).
- **b**. The word *pravrājin* 'running after, wandering', is attested in Vedic only three times, in a simile occurring in identical passages at PS 9.11.10b = 15.16.1b = 19.31.11b *gāvaḥ pravrājinīr iva* 'like wandering cows'. Commenting the occurrence of *pravrājá* 'bed of a river' at RV 7.60.7c, KIM 2010:187 notes that "*pra-vrājá* bezeichnet wohl einen Ort, wo der Flußlauf durch eine Freilassung aus der Enge seine Geschwindigkeit erhöht"; if this interpretation is correct, *gāvaḥ pravrājinīr* may indicate cows that have left the fence and roam freely (cf. the meaning of the verb *pravraj* 'to go forth , proceed , depart from (abl.), set out for, go to, leave home and wander forth as an ascetic mendicant').

Interestingly, in 9.11.10 Arundhatī is addressed, and 19.31.11 is about a plant which serves to cure the Vātīkāra.

cd. On  $\bar{a}tur\acute{a}$ -, see PS 15.15.2d above and ZYSK 1985: 316. I analyze  $abhigach\bar{a}m\bar{a}vata\dot{m}$  as  $abhigach\bar{a}ma + \bar{a}vata\dot{m}$ . The next sequence  $k_rnum\bar{a}vata\dot{m}$  can hardly be correct, as it contains, in its second part, a repetition of  $\bar{a}vata\dot{m}$ . I emend the transmitted text to  $*k_rnav\bar{a}ma$  (1st plural present subjunctive of  $k_r$ -) tam. Although the metre and the meaning are still not completely satisfactory, this emendation is supported by the use of the adjective  $\bar{a}vata\dot{m}kara\dot{n}a$ - 'making proximity', attested at PS 1.100.3b, 10.6.12d and 19.37.3d, to which the construction  $\bar{a}vata\dot{m}$  \* $k_r$ - corresponds.

#### **15.16.2** [Anuştubh] PS only

imam me tvam <sup>+</sup>jarāmṛtyum

+#A

puruṣam kṛṇuv oṣadhe	*A
rājñī hi sarvāsām as <sub>i</sub> y	*#A
oṣadhīnām *arundhati	A

O herb, make for me this man one who dies of old age. For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, O Arundhatī.

imam] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, im{e}am Ku tvam] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, tva JM jarāmṛtyum] jarāmṛtyu Or, jarāmmṛtyam K puruṣam] K, puṛṣam Or oṣadhe] Or, audhe K rājñī] JM RM Mā Pa K, rājña Ku [Ma] hi] Or, om. K \*arundhati] arundhatī Or K |||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 2 Z K

Bhattacharya edits arundhatī in d.

- a. Cf. PS 15.6.1b jarāmṛtyum kṛṇuta 'Make [him] one who dies of old age'.
- **d**. At the end of the verse, all the manuscripts read *arundhatī*. Although the nominative can be justified if we interpret 'For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, [you are] Arundhatī', the vocative is more natural here, and since the confusion of short and long  $-\tilde{i}$  is frequent both in **Or** and **K** (cf. the note at PS 15.19.6b), I have decided to emend the text.

## **15.16.3** [Anuştubh] PS only, cd: PS 15.15.7cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

trāyamāṇā h <sub>i</sub> y asi	*A7
jīvalā vīr <sub>i</sub> yāvatī	*A
arundhati tvām āhārṣam	#A
ito mā pārayān iti	A

For you are the protecting one, full of life, powerful. O Arundhatī, I brought you here [with the intention]: "They shall protect me from this".

trāyamāṇā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, trāyamāṇ{o}ā **Pa** jīvalā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jīva **JM** vīryāvatī] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vīryāvatī **RM** arundhati] **K**, arndhati **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, arndhatī **RM** tvām...iti] tvām āhārṣam ito mā pārayān iti **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, tvām āhārṣam ito mā pārayān imita **JM**, tvam tasyāmi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

- **ab**. The words *trấyamāṇa* and *jīvalá* are often used as epithets referring to plants (and to Arundhatī in particular). See GRIFFITHS 2009: 348 and 352, with exhaustive references.
- **cd**. The manuscript **K** has two complete different pādas, *arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī*, which are the refrain of the following stanzas; the refrain was probably anticipated here by a mistake of the copyist.

## **15.16.4** [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only, cd: PS 15.17.7cd

digdhena ca viddhasya-	A7
-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā	A
arundhati tvam tasyāsi	#A
visasya visadūsanī	Α

And of one pierced with an anointed [arrow] and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.

digdhena] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], dagdhena **Pa**, adigdhena **K** viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣā **JM**, viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣa **K** yā] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ÝĀ **Ku** arundhati] **K**, arndhati **JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], ArNDHATI **Ku**, arndhatī **RM** tasyāsi] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, syā{·}ṣasi **Ku** viṣadūṣaṇī] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, vi <?> **Pa** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

For the analysis of this stanza and the following ones, see the Introduction to the hymn 15.15 and Lubin 2007: 91–92. For the interpretation of  $agh\acute{a}vis\ddot{a}$ - as 'a poisonous [arrow]', see Lubotsky 2002: 102–103. Poisoned arrows are often mention in the RV and in the AV (cf. e.g. RV 6.75.15, ŚS 4.6  $\approx$  PS 5.8, PS 5.22 etc.).

## 15.16.5 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

āheyena ca daṣṭasya--aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā ° ° ° ∥ A

And of one stung by a snake-bite, and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhatī...).

āheyena] **Or**, āhena **K** daṣṭasyāghasyāghaviṣā ca yā] **RM**, daṣṭasyāghasyāghaviṣā ca yā **JM**, daṣṭasyāghasya **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, daṣṭasyāghasya **Ku** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

#### 15.16.6 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

vātīkāreņa ca kṣiptasya-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā ° ° ° || A

And of one struck by Vātīkāra and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhatī...).

vātīkāreņa] **Or**, vācīkāreņa **K** kṣiptasyāghasya **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, kṣiptasyāghaviṣa ca ýā  $\|^{k\bar{a}}$  **JM**, kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca ýā **RM**, kṣuptasya **K**  $\|\|$  Z **K** 

#### 15.16.7 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

bhavena ca ° ° ° || A7

And of one struck by Bhava (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

bhavena ca] RM [Ma] Pa K, bhave{·}na ca Ku, om. JM Mā ||] Ku [Ma] Pa, ||kā JM, | RM, Z K

**a**. This stanza is not found in **Mā**. From this stanza until stanza 17.3 seven manifestations or embodiments of Rudra are mentioned (the various aspects of the god vary in number from seven to nine, and are not always listed in the same order: cf. ŚS 15.5, KauśS 51.8, VS 39.8 etc. and BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618). See also my Introduction to hymn 15.15.

## 15.16.8 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

śarvena ca °°°∥ A7

śarveṇa ca] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, śarveṇa ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

And of one struck by Śarva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

## 15.16.9 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

And of one struck by Rudra (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

rudreņa ca] rdreņa ca **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, rdreņa ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca ȳā **JM**, om. **K**  $\parallel$ ] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**,  $\parallel$ <sup>kā</sup> **JM**,  $\parallel$  **RM**,

This stanza is not found in **K**.

## 15.16.10 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

And of one struck by Paśupati (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

#### 15.17. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

#### 15.17.1 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

ugrena ca devena ca ksiptasya °°° |

 $^{\circ}A$ 

And of one struck by the fearsome god (Ugra), (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

kṣiptasya] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca ȳā **JM**, kṣuptasya **K**  $\parallel$ ] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**,  $\parallel$ <sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**,  $\mid$  **RM**,  $\mid$  **K** 

## 15.17.2 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

mahādevena ca ksiptasya °°°° ||

 $^{\circ}A$ 

And of one struck by Mahādeva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

kṣiptasya] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca ȳā **JM**, kṣuptasya **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **Ku RM**, Z **K** 

#### 15.17.3 [Anuştubh-Formula] PS only

īśānena ca kṣiptasya-

#A

-aghasyāghaviṣā °°°° ||

And of one struck by Īśāna (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

īśānena]  $M\bar{a}$  [Ma] K, iśānena JM, i $\{\cdot\}$ śānena RM,  $\cdot\cdot\cdot\cdot$  Ku, nena Pa kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣā Or, kṣuptasya aghasyāghahaviṣā ca yā K ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, ||kā JM, | RM, | K

#### **15.17.4** [Anuştubh] PS only

yat prthiviyām viṣam vīrutsuv adhi vad viṣam °°° || \*A7

 $^{\circ}\mathsf{A}$ 

The poison which is in the earth, the poison which is in the plants: (O Arundhatī...).

pṛthivyām] **K Or**, pṛvyām **Pa** vīrutsv] vīṛtsv **Or**, vīṛts **Mā** vīratsūr **K** adhi] **Ku Pa** [**Ma**], adha hi **JM**, ahi **RM**, yadhi **Mā**, om. **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

With this stanza begins a new section of the hymn: this stanza and the following three show a different syntactical structure in pādas **ab**, while in pādas **cd** they repeat the same refrain as it is found in the preceding stanzas.

#### **15.17.5** [**Anuştubh**] PS only

yad oşadhībhyaḥ sambharanti brahmāṇo menaye viṣam °°° ||  $^{\circ}A$ 

A

The poison which the Brahmins collect from the herbs for a missile: (O Arundhatī...).

oṣadhībhyaḥ] **Or**, oṣadhībhyas **K** sambharanti] **Ku**, **JM**, sambhavanti **RM**, sambharanti [**Ma**] **Pa K**, sambharantī **Mā** brahmāṇo] **Ku Pa Mā** [**Ma**], brāhmaṇo **JM**, brahmaṇo **RM**, brāhmāṇo **K** menaye] **Or**, minaye **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, | **K** 

**b**. On the word *mení*-, see my comment at 23.1a. Here the word seems to have the concrete meaning of 'missile weapon'.

#### **15.17.6** [**Anuştubh**] PS only

```
yad brāhmaṇāḥ sambharanti +A

tṛṣṭam āśīviṣam viṣam °°° |

A
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The poison — the harsh venomous snake — which the priests collect: (O Arundhatī...).

brāhmaṇāḥ]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ], brahmaṇāḥ  $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{Pa}$ , brāhmaṇās  $\mathbf{K}$  sambharanti]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ], sambh $\{e\}$ aranti  $\mathbf{Pa}$ , sambharanti  $\mathbf{K}$  <sup>+</sup>tr̥ṣṭamāśīviṣam்] dr̥ṣṭamāśīviṣam்  $\mathbf{Or}$ , tiṣṭhamāsīdviṣami  $\mathbf{K}$  ||]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$ , || $^{k\bar{a}}$   $\mathbf{JM}$ , |  $\mathbf{RM}$ , Z 4 Z  $\mathbf{K}$ 

b. The word āśīviṣá- indicate 'a kind of venomous snake'. In Vedic it is further attested only at ŚS 12.5.34 ásamjñā gandhéna śúg uddhriyámāṇāśīviṣá úddhrtā (≈ PS 16.144.3b) 'Discord by smell. Pain when being taken up, a poison-snake when taken up' (Whitney) and later, twice, in the Brāhmaṇas (AB 6.1.4 āśīviṣo vai no rājānam avekṣate 'A venomous snake looks at our king' and JB 1.287 caturakṣarāṇi ha vā agre chandāmsy āsur ayajñavāhāny atha hendrasya tridive soma āsa tam hāgnayo gandharvā jugupur eta eva dhiṣṇyās ta u evāśīviṣaḥ 'In the beginning the meters were of four syllables [and] they did not convey the oblations [to the gods]; at that time Soma was in the third heaven of Indra; the Fires and the Gandharvas protected it; they are indeed the Dhiṣṇyas, but also the venomous snakes'). The manifold repetition of the word viṣá- 'poison' — which besides several other occurrences within the hymn appears also in the name of the snake — produces a distinct echo effect. Cf. ŚS 5.18.3 = PS 9.17.10 áviṣṭitāgháviṣā pṛdākūr iva cármaṇā / sā brāhmaṇásya rājanya tṛṣṭáiṣā gáur anādyā 'An ill-poisonous [arrow], like a pṛdākū-snake [covered] with a hide, so this cow of the priest is harsh, not to be eaten, O noble' (for the interpretation of this passage and some parallels, see Lubotsky 2002: 102–103).

## **15.17.7** [Anuştubh] PS only

yaḥ kṣipto mr̞tyunā yakṣmair	+#A
yo daṣṭas tṛṣṭadaṁśmabhiḥ	A
arundhati tvam tasyāsi	#A
viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī	A

Who was struck by death, by the *yakṣmas*, who was stung by those biting roughly: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.

yaḥ] **Or**, ma **K** kṣipto] **Or**, kṣupto **K** yakṣmair yo] **JM**, yasmair yo **Or**, ya · e · o **K** daṣṭas] **JM RM**, daṣṭaḥ **Pa**, daṣṭaḥs **Ku** [**Ma**], dṛṣṭas **K Mā** tṛṣṭadamśmabhiḥ] · ṣṭadamśmabhiḥ **Ku**, tṛptadamśubhiḥ **JM**,

trptadamsmabhiḥ RM, trṣṭāptadamsmabhiḥ Pa, trptadasmabhiḥ Mā, trṣṭa(→pta)damsmabhiḥ [Ma], tyaṣṭhadamsmabhi K arundhati] K, arndhati Or viṣadūṣaṇī] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, viṣadūṇī JM ∥] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, ∥<sup>kā</sup> JM, ∣ RM, Z 5 Z K

Bhattacharya edits *mṛtyunā yasmair* in **a**.

**a**. The manuscript **JM** is the only one that has preserved the correct reading yaksmair (cf. pāda **a** of the next stanza). **K** is broken at the beginning of folio 163b20 and the only visible letters on the birchbark are  $m_r tyun\bar{a}ya \cdot e \cdot o$ , which are at any rate compatible with the reading of **JM**. Note the change from the neuter forms of the relative pronoun to the masculine ones.

## **15.17.8** [Anuştubh] PS only, d: ŚS 5.30.6d

sam jihīṣvāmukthā yakṣmād	#A
ārukṣo lokam uttamam	A
apā jīvasi pātreņa-	+#A
-adhi jīvapurā ihi	A

Rise up, you have been released from *yakṣma*. You have ascended the highest world. You live through the water, through the cup. Go to the strongholds of the living ones.

jihīṣvāmukthā] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], jihīmukthā **RM**, jihīṣvāmu{gth}kthā **Pa**, jīṣmāmuktvā **K** yakṣmād] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ya{·}kṣmād **RM**, yaṣmād **K** ārukṣo] ār̥kṣo **Or**, ārṣyo **K** apā jīvasi] **Or**, apāvakīya **K** pātreṇādhi] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pātreṇā 'dhi **JM**, svāpātreṇādhi **K** ihi] **Or**, hi **K** ||] || r 8 || 17 || **Ku**, || r 9 || 17 || **JM**, || r | 17 || **RM**, || 17 || r || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 6 Z kā 3 Z **K** 

ŚS 5.30.6 iháidhi puruṣa sárveṇa mánasā sahá | dūtáu yamásya mắnu gā ádhi jīvapurấ ihi ||

- **a**. Cf. ŚS 2.10.6a ( $\approx$  PS 2.3.5a) ámukthā yákṣmād duritād avadyād 'You have been released from yakṣma, from danger, from shame'.
- **b**. Cf. ŚS 17.8c = PS 18.55.2d *hitváśastim dívam árukṣa etám* 'Having left behind the curse, you have ascended this heaven'. Note the further occurrence of a verb from the root *ruh*( $\bar{a}rukṣo$ ), which refers to the patient, but again contains an allusion to one of the names of the herb (see my comment at 15.15.4bc).
- c. The word  $p\dot{a}tra$  means 'a drinking vessel, a cup'. It is worthwhile noting that it is used in connection with the word  $vi\dot{s}\dot{a}$  'poison', occurring many times in this hymn, at RV 10.136.7cd  $\approx$  PS 5.38.7cd  $ke\acute{s}\dot{t}$   $vi\dot{s}\dot{a}sya$   $p\dot{a}trena$   $y\acute{a}d$   $rudr\acute{e}n\dot{a}pibat$   $sah\acute{a}$  'When the one with long hair drank the poison together with Rudra out of the cup'.
- **d**. This pāda is to be compared with ŚS 5.30.6cd (= PS 9.13.6cd)  $d\bar{u}t\acute{a}u$  yamásya mắnu gā ádhi jīvapurắ ihi 'Do not go after Yama's two messengers, go to the strongholds of the living ones' and ŚS 2.9.3b ( $\approx$  PS 2.10.5b) ádhi jīvapurắ agān 'He had attained the strongholds of the living ones' (ZEHNDER 1999: 45–46: 'Zu den Festungen der Lebenden ist er gelangt'). PS 15.15.17d, not quoted by Zehnder, is another passage in which jīva-purās is used "als Metapher des Überlebens".

#### 15.18. Against Apsarases

PS 18 and 19 are a single composition of 22 connected stanzas (10 + 12). The last four stanzas of hymn 19, however, are repeated from 7.13.11–14, and can be considered a later addition; whitout them, the hymn conforms to the norm of eighteen stanzas per hymn expected by the title of the kāṇḍa. The hymn is divided into two parts: the first part consists of stanzas 18.1–9 and the second part of stanzas 18.10 and 19.1–12, which are linked by a refrain that occurs in the last two pādas of every stanzas (on the type of abbreviation found in this hymn, see Introduction, p. 30).

As regards the content, the hymn is addressed against the Apsarases and might seem out of place in this "Rudraic section" of the fifteenth kāṇḍa, as suggested also by the lack of clear links with the preceding hymn. Nevertheless, the entire hymn is full of Rudraic elements, such as the use at 18.2b of the adjective śikhaṇḍín- 'crested', which usually describes Rudra's hairstyle; the mention of vidyút- 'thunder' at 19.5b, vắta- 'wind' and reṣmán- 'storm' at 19.8b, all elements which are often related to Rudra as a storm god; the occurence of the compound nīlavyakta- 'blue ornaments' at 19.7b, whose first member is the same of Rudra's epithet nīlagrīva- 'blue necked', and of the expression dūrād enāḥ pratyapaśyam 'I saw them from afar' at 18.4a, which is parallel to PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 apaśyam tvāvarohantam 'divataḥ pṛthivīm iva | apaśyam asyantam rudram 'nīlagrīvam śikhaṇḍinam 'I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]' (LOPEZ 2010: 144).

On the one hand, therefore, the inclusion of this hymn within the section of "Rudraic hymns" can be perfectly justified; on the other hand, the hymn offers new important evidence for our understanding of many features of the Apsarases, although some details remain obscure.

The Apsarases addressed in this hymn form a group of 80, and are called *Uluṅgulukā*-'belonging to Uluṅgula', a name which is probably an epithet or a proper name of a Gandharva (see my comment at 18.6c).

The table below shows the data concerning the Apsarases that can be collected from this hymn.

DESCRIPTION	PLACES	ACTIVITIES
They wear big golden ornaments.	Heaven.	They can reach everyone and seek
	Intermediate space.	in particular the absent-minded
They wear dark blue ornaments.	Ocean.	men, in order to confuse their mind
	Lakes.	and disturb the sacrifice to the
They have various hairstyles	Rivers.	gods.
(crested, long hair etc.).	Fords.	They dance.
	They come from all the four	They swing in a swing.
	cardinal directions (East, South,	They make grimaces.
	West, North).	They make loud noises.

As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: 383, several hymns in the PS are dedicated to the Apsarases (e.g. 1.29, 1.89, 12.7–8, 7.13), and "thematic and verbatim correspondences are noticeable also in the various PS hymns to the Sadānuvās [...] to the Kaṇvās [...] and to other noxious female creatures".

As already said, there are no clear links with the preceding hymn, except for the mention of Indra in 18.2a, 4a and the occurrence of *vātena* in 19.8b, which corresponds to *vātaḥ* in 15.5c. The hymn, however, is quite clearly linked to more distant hymns through *dūrad* in 18.4a (cf. 11.9d) *samudram* and *samudrād* in 18.5d and 19.11a (cf. 14.3c), *sūryasya* and *sākam* in 19.2b (cf. 13.1c, 14.5c), *antarikṣa* in 19.8a (cf. 13.5b), *nādīḥ* in 19.9a (cf. 14.3c) *ghoṣān* in 19.11b (cf. 10.7a, 12.3b). The list of the direction found in every first pāda of stanzas 19.2–5 (*purastād*, *adharād*, *paścād*, *uttarād*) is found identical in 11.1ac. Note also the occurence of the compound *gandharvāpsaraso* in 13.4a.

# **15.18.1** [Anuştubh] PS only, b: cf. ŚS 1.11.5a

apsaraso vi vo yakrd	A
vi vo bhinadmi mehanam	A
vi caṇḍālaṁ v <sub>i</sub> y arjunaṁ	*A
vi vavrtram bhinadmi vah	A

O Apsarases, I split open your liver, your urethra. I split open your ... (?).

vi vo...mehanam] **Or**, divo divo hi kṣattrivo hi bhinadmi mehanam **K** vi caṇḍālam] **Ku JM RM Pa**, caṇḍālam **Mā** [**Ma**], vya tamḍālam **K** vy arjunam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vy{u}arjunam **JM**, vy arjunam **K** vi vavṛtram] [**Mā, Ma**] **Pa**, vi vavṛttam **Ku RM**, vi vavṛttram **JM**, upa vṛttram **K** bhinadmi] **Or**, bhinaddi **K** vaḥ] **Or**, va **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

**ab**. For the structure of this stanza, cf. ŚS 1.11.5 *ví te bhinadmi méhanam ví yónim ví gavínike* | *ví mātáram ca putrám ca ví kumārám jaráyuṇáva jaráyu padyatām* 'I split open your urethra, your womb, your [two] ureters; [I split open] the mother and her son, the boy from the afterbirth. Let the afterbirth fall'. Cf. also ŚS 1.3.7ab (= PS 1.4.4ab, 20.42.3cd ≈ PS 19.20.13cd), addressed to a patient who suffers from urinary retention: *prá te bhinadmi méhanam vártram veśantyá iva* 'I split up your urethra like the dam of a lake'.

On the word *méhana*- 'urethra', cf. LELLI — DE JOSEPH forthc.

Although this hymn is clearly directed against the Apsarases, who are said to be struck by Indra, and are constantly requested to go away to distant places, the two actions described in these pādas do not necessarily have a violent connotation. The expression *mehanam vibhid*- (or *prabhid*-), at least, is always used in curative contexts to favour a patient's urination or a child's birth; the action of splitting open the liver could be of course interpreted as more damaging, but it is not excluded that it aims at an appearing effect, as for example the release of bile.

**c**. The meaning of this pāda and of the following one is unclear. For the sake of symmetry, one would expect other body parts to be mentioned, but the text does not seem to support this hypothesis. At the beginning of the verse one can read candalam following **Or**, or tandalam following **K**.

The word *caṇḍāla*- means 'an outcast, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes (born from a Śudra father and a Brahman mother)', but this definition does not make any sense in the context of this stanza. Moreover, its etymology is not clear; according to EWAia, it is likely to be a pre-Aryan tribe's name and has no connection with *cáṇḍa*- 'name of a demon, fierce, passionate, violent' (this connection was suggested in AiGr II/2, § 158b, p. 269 and § 178a, pp. 288–89, and would be of some value if *caṇḍāla* could be related to the mention of the

liver in pāda **a** and interpreted as the name for the gallbladder; can the action of splitting it open be another way to to appease the Apsarases?).

On the basis of the reading of **K**, Barret proposes to read tandalam, but admits that the meaning is not clear at all (could it be a formation from tand- 'beat'?).

As regards the word *arjuna*-, whose meaning must be 'white, whitish, made of silver', it can refer to the swing of the Apsarases, or to nuts used as musical instruments, as suggested by two parallel stanzas addressed to the Apsarases as well, ŚS 4.37.5 *yátra vaḥ preṅkhắ háritā árjunā utá yátrāghāṭāḥ karkaryàḥ samvádanti | tát páretāpsarasaḥ prátibuddhā abhūtana* 'Where your swings yellowish and whitish [are], and where cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized', and PS 12.7.8 *yatra vo 'kṣa haritā arjunā \*aghāṭayaḥ karkaryaḥ samvadanti | tát páretāpsarasaḥ prátibuddhā abhūtana* 'Where your nuts yellowish and whitish, your cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized'. Could then *caṇḍāla* be the name of another instrument?

**d**. Note that the spelling ttr instead of tr is usual in **K**. On account of the parallel passages quoted above, would it be conceivable to read vartram and reconstruct the verse as vi + iva + vartram 'I split you open like a dam'?

# **15.18.2** [Anuştubh] PS only, b: cf. ŚS 4.37.4b = PS 12.7.7b, cd: cf. RV 10.155.4cd

viśvajanyāḥ pāñcajanyā	+ A
mahārukmāḥ śikhaṇḍinīḥ	A
sarvā indrasya vajreņa	+#A
hatā budbudayātavaḥ	A

The ones relating to all men, the ones relating to the five races of men, the ones having big golden ornaments, the crested ones: all whose witchcraft is a bubble were struck by Indra's cudgel.

viśvajanyāḥ] **Or**, viśvajanyāḥ **K** pāñcajanyā] **Or**, pañcanyā **K** mahārukmāḥ] mahārkmāḥ **Or**, mahārukmā **K** śikhaṇḍinīḥ] **Or**, śikhaṇḍinī **K** vajreṇa] **Or**, vajreṇā **K** budbudayātavaḥ] **RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, budbudayātava **JM**, budbudayātava **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K** 

RV 10.155.4cd hatā́ indrasya śátravaḥ sárve budbudáyāśavaḥ ||

- a. With this stanza begins the description of the Apsarases. The two adjectives *viśvájanya*-and *páñcajanya* qualify the Apsarases as 'relating to all men' and 'relating to the five races of men', which seems to mean 'relating to everybody', 'pertaining to all', pointing at their capacity to reach all men in order to mess up their sacrifices and bewitch their mind (cf. next stanzas). Compare the use of *páñcajanya* next to the locative plural *jáneṣu* at RV 5.32.11ab *ékaṁ nú tvā sátpatim páñcajanyaṁ jātáṁ śṛṇomi yaśásaṁ jáneṣu* 'I hear that you alone were born as might lord [ruling] over the fife races, honoured among the people'. See also PS 15.19.12a, where the Apsarases are said to go 'from man to man' (*janaṁjanam*).
- **b**. The compound *mahārukma* is a hapax. The word *rukmá* (on which see RAU 1973: 54–55) indicates silver or golden ornaments used for chariot, horses and especially worn by the Maruts on the chest (cf RV 1.64.4b, 1.166.10b, 5.54.11b) or over the arms (RV 8.20.11b). On account of this PS passage it seems likely that this kind of ornaments was used also by females.

On śikhaṇḍín-, see Kuiper 1955: 152–154, who identifies śikhā- (in viśikhá- 'with loose topknot' 50) as a non Indo-Aryan word. The adjective clearly refers to some kind of (non Indo-Aryan?) hair stlyes. It is usually applied to Rudra: see PS 14.3.1cd = NU 1.1.cd apaśyam asyantam rudram nīlagrīvam śikhaṇḍinam 'I saw Rudra shooting [his arrows], the blue-necked one, the crested one', ŚS 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a.; Rudra is further called nīlaśikhaṇḍa- 'blue-crested' at ŚS 2.27.6ab = PS 2.16.4ab rúdra jálāṣabheṣaja nīlaśikhaṇḍa kármakṛt 'Rudra, possessing soothing medicines, blue-crested, performer of (magic) actions', PS 14.4.1a = NU 2.11a 5a, PS 14.4.5a = NU 2.15a, PS 20.62.7c = NU 3.26c, ŚS 11.2.7a = PS 16.104.7a. At PS 20.55.10a = NU 3.23a and PS 20.60.7a = NU 3.24a the compound qualifies Śarva as an embodiment of Rudra (similarly at ŚS 6.93.1b = PS 19.14.13b). At ŚS 4.37.7a = PS 12.7.9a śikhaṇḍín- refers to the Gandharvas. Both the golden ornaments and the tufts of hair of the Apsarases are confirmed by iconographic evidences, since they are usually represented wearing ornaments and having up to six braids of hair on their head.

This pāda can be compared to ŚS 4.37.4ab = PS 12.7.7ab yátrāśvatthā nyagródhā mahāv $_1$ kṣāh śikhaṇḍínah 'Where the Aśvatthas [are], the Nyagrodhas, the great trees, the crested ones', in which the adjective, rather strangely, refers to the trees.

**d**. The reading *budbudayātavaḥ* is common to all the manuscripts. This compound is a hapax to be compared with *budbudayāśavaḥ* 'whose semen is a bubble, impotent' attested in the late "atharvanic" hymn RV 10.155.4cd: *hatā índrasya śátravaḥ sárve budbudáyāśavaḥ* 'All Indra's enemies, whose semen is a bubble, were struck'.

An emendation to \*budbudáyāśavaḥ is not convenient here, because such an epithet does not fit to female beings. I tentatively translate this compound as a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'whose witchcraft is a bubble (i.e. ineffective)', but there could be also an alternative interpretation, which would consist in including this compound in the series ulūkayātu- 'a demon in the shape of an owl', kokayātu- 'a demon in the shape of a cuckoo', grdrayātu- 'a demon in the shape of a vulture', śvayātu- 'a demon in the shape of a dog'. But what kind of demon would be a 'demon in the shape of a bubble'?

## **15.18.3** [**Gāyatrī**] PS only

andhācīm asitācīm	A7
ulūkhalasya budhnena	+#A
avaitam vatsapam jahi	A

Strike down with the bottom of a mortar the darkish one (f.), the blackish one (f.), that *vatsapa*.

andhācīm] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K, andācīm JM RM asitācīm] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, om. Pa ulūkhalasya] JM [Ma] Pa, ulukhalasya Ku, ūlūkhalasya RM Mā, ullūkhalasya K budhnena] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, badhnena JM avaitam] Or, ahitam K jahi] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, jadi Pa || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 3 Z K

**a**. The two adjectives *andhācī*- and *asitācī*- are *hapax legomena*, formed respectively from *andhá*- 'dark' and *ásita*- 'black' with the suffix *-añc*- 'going to, direct to, turned to', thus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> As Werner Knobl informs me (*per litteram*, March 2014), the Bahuvrīhi compound *vi-śikhá-* cannot mean 'having no tuft of hair, bald', as the use of *vi-* as a negative prefix is rare in Vedic (the only example is *vy-ènas-* 'without guilt'). At RV 6.75.17b *vi-śikhá-* has to be interpreted as 'mit aufgelöstem Haarbusch' (Geldner). Therefore the compound means 'with loose, disheveled topknot (tuft of hair)'.

indicating a particular shade of color that is close to the one indicated by the adjective used as base (cf. śvityáñc- 'whitish' :: śvitrá- 'white' and AiGr. II/2, § 56, pp. 152 ff.). It is not easy to decide whether andhācī- and asitācī- are proper names of two Apsarases or just two epithets. Compare the parallel stanza 18.7, which has three pādas as well and begins with the two vocatives āskandike viskandike 'O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper', which are possibly two other names of the Apsarases. On the association of the Apsarases with darkness see 15.19.4b below.

**c**. The addressee of the imperative *jahi* is probably Indra (cf. *indrasya vajreṇa hatā* at 18.2d and *indro... hanat* at 18.4d).

The word *vatsápa*- is attested at ŚS 8.6.1d = PS 16.79.1d, where it denotes a *durṇāman* demon in a charm used to protect a pregnant woman. It occurs also at PS 6.14.5b in a hymn against noxious creatures, full as well of previously unattested words (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 169 ff.). Its connection with the Apsarases, besides the fact of being a malignant creature to ward off, is not clear.

## **15.18.4** [Anuştubh] PS only, d: PS 1.89.3d

dūrād enāḥ pratyapaśyam	+A
āpatantīr *adho divaḥ	A
devānām havyamohanīr	A
indro apsaraso hanat	A

I saw them from afar, flying towards [here] below the heaven. Indra will slay the Apsarases confusing [our] oblation to the gods.

dūrād] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, dūrad **RM** enāḥ] enāḥ **K**, enā **Or** pratyapaśyam] **Or**, prapaśyam **K** āpatantīr] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, āpatantir **RM** \*adho] atho **Or K** devānām] **Or**, devānā **K** havyamohanīr] **Or**, havyamohanīm **K** indro] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, indre **JM** apsaraso] **Or**, psaraso **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *atho divah* in **b**.

**a**. The enclitic pronoun *ena*-, almost always used substantively, obviously refers to the Apsarases.

Although the issue of the aspectual functions of the Vedic imperfect is still under dispute, it would be very attractive to assign to this form the connotation of a visionary experience, which seems to be vividly remembered and to some extent repeated at the moment of reciting the verse. HOUBEN 2000: 518–519, has pointed out this value of the Vedic imperfect: "Already Oldenberg drew attention to the occurrence of this word in another hymn of Dirghatamas, viz., 1.163 (vss. 5 and 7) and spoke of an "Ausdrucksgewohnheit" (habit of expression) of the author. In 1.163 it occurs even a third time: in vs. 6. In 1.164 we have already seen one other occurrence: in vs. 31 (here accented at the beginning of the pada). In addition, vs. 43 has  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}d$  apaśyam 'I saw from afar' In most of these occurrences (especially those in 1.163), as in many of the other sixteen occurrences in the RV, the context favors the acceptance of apaśyam with the connotation of a visionary experience [...]" which seems to be either "an idiomatic exception to the general rule, or rather an exemplary instance of a durative use of the imperfect". It is worth it to point out the occurrence, both in our passage and in RV 1.164.43, of an adverb expressing distance or remoteness ( $d\bar{u}r\bar{a}d$ ,  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}d$ ).

Cf. also the parallel construction of PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 apaśyam tvāvarohantam 'divataḥ pṛthivīm iva | apaśyam asyantam rudram 'nīlagrīvam śikhandinam 'I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]' (Lopez).

**b**. The reading *atho* of **Or** may be due to perseveration from PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b, two passages for which the reading *adho* is also attested and almost certainly correct. **K**, which at PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b has the correct reading *adho*, shows again the same mistake at PS 15.21.7b, where the reading *atho divah* is again to be emended to \**adho divah*.

c. The compound *havyamohana*- 'bewildering/confusing the oblations' is a hapax. Whereas *havyá*- 'oblation', is attested from the RV onwards alone and in compounds (both as first and second member), *mohana*- is never attested in the RV nor in the ŚS (where we find at 8.8.9c the synonym *móha*- 'loss of consciousness, bewilderment', used in a military context as a weapon — a magical charm — to be cast against an hostile army). In the PS it is attested three times, always as a second member of a compound: beyond 15.18.4, it is found at 3.6.5a *senāmohanam krnv* 'make the bewilderment of the army' = 'bewilder the army' and 20.55.9d *tat satyam cittamohanam* 'that [is] the truth that bewilders the mind'. In KauśS 3.1 the hymns ŚS 3.1 and 3.2 are qualified as *mohanāni*, i.e. formulas to be recited in order to bewilder an enemy.

The word *mohana*- seems thus to denote especially (but not exclusively) a magical power of a formula by which one is able to cause the victim (an enemy, a rival or an hostile army) to lose the normal control of his mind and senses. According to my interpretation, at PS 15.18.4c *havyamohana*- is a Tatpuruṣa used in the function of a Nomen Agentis, meaning 'bewildering/confusing the oblations'. This compound is to be compared with the compound manomúh- 'mind-confusing' attested at ŚS 2.2.5b = PS 1.7.5b, which refers to the Apsarases as well. It is worth noting that the Apsarases against which this hymn is directed are depicted in the last stanza in the action of "going from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one" (15.19.12ab).

**d**. This pāda, found identical at PS 1.89.3d, is to be compared also with PS 7.13.1d *indro* <sup>+</sup>*api* <sup>+</sup>*krtac chiraḥ* 'Indra shall cut off the head', in which the intervention of the god is directed against the Apsarases as well. Note that at the beginning of the verse the Orissa manuscripts do not apply abhinihita sandhi between *indro* and *apsaraso*; this sandhi is certainly metrically preferable.

## **15.18.5** [**Anuştubh**] PS only, a = PS 1.29.2c

āhatā apa tā itaḥ	A
khalād <sup>i</sup> va yātudhān <sub>i</sub> yaḥ	/*A
amum gachata pūruṣam	A
samudram apa gachata	A

Them, beated up, [remove] away from here, like sorceresses from the threshing-floor. Go to that man over there, go away to the ocean.

āhatā apa tā itaḥ] **Or**, ahatāpatāyati **K** amum] **Or**, imam **K** gachata] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, gachati **JM**, om. **K** pūruṣam] pūṛṣam **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], pū(→u)rṣam **Pa**, puṛṣam **JM RM**, om. **K** samudram] **Or**, om. **K** apa] **RM** Mā [**Ma**] **Pa**, ava **Ku JM**, om. **K** gachata] **RM**, gachati **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, gaśchataḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits  $gacchati^+$  in **d**.

- **a**. A verb should be supplied. The comparison with the sorceresses suggests a verb like 'remove, drive away' to be understood as the sorceresses would not go voluntarily away from the threshing-floor. Accordingly, I interpret  $t\bar{a}$  as an accusative plural. The corrupt reading of **K** ahatāpatāyati may suggest to read yantu instead of itaḥ, so that the whole pāda would be āhatā apa tā yantu 'Being beaten off, let them go away'.
- **d**. The singular *gacchati* is impossible here. Note that instead of the two pādas **cd**, **K** has only *imam gaśchataḥ*, since the copyist must have skipped from the first *gachata* in pāda **c** to the second one at the end of pāda **d** ("saut du meme au meme"). On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, cf. PS 15.19.11 below and GRIFFITHS 2009: 395–6.

## 15.18.6 [Anuştubh] PS only

divam gachantu div <sub>i</sub> yāḥ	*#A
saro gachantu sārasīḥ	A
ulungulasya yo grhas	A
tad u gachant <sub>u</sub> v āsurīḥ	*A

Let the heavenly ones (f.) go to the heaven, let the ones (f.) coming from a lake go to the lake. Where the house of Ulungula [is], there let the female demons go.

divaṃ] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, diva **Pa** gachantu] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, gantu **JM**, gaśchantu **K** divyāḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, divyā **Mā**, divyās **K** gachantu] **Or**, gaśchantu **K** sārasīḥ] **Or**, sārasī **K** uluṅgulasya] **Ku Pa** [**Ma**], uluṁgulasya **JM**, ulūṅgulasya **RM**, ulūhalasya **Mā**, ulaṁ ālasya **K** gṛhas] **Or**, gulas **K** u gachantv] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], u gachant{u} v **Pa**, agaśchanty **K** āsurīḥ] **Or**, āsuraiḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z Z **K** 

c. The Apsarases addressed in this hymn are called *Uluṅgulukā*- 'belonging to Uluṅgula' (cf. 18.10e below); for this value of the suffix -*ka*-, see AiGr. II/2, § 362f, p. 526: "Seltener tritt -*ka*- an eine Personenbezeichnung in der Bedeutung 'zu der betr. Person in Beziehung stehend, ihr zugehörig'". As regards the formation, one would expect a feminine derivative in -*ikā*- (according to AiGr. II/2, § 199b, pp. 314–15), but -*uka*- is often found instead of -*ikā*- (AiGr. II/2, § 293a, pp. 482–83), and the two preceding -*u*- could have affected the color of the vowel before the suffix. The name Uluṅgula could be analyzed as *uru(m)gula*- 'having a broad glans', as an epithet or proper name of a Gandharva (Praust p. c.). The spelling *ulu*- instead of *uru*- can be interpreted as a feature of women's speech.

#### **15.18.7** [Gāyatrī] PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.9b

āskandike viskandike	#A
arācīr apa *nṛtyantu	+#A
sāraṅgeṇa śunā saha	A

O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper: let them dance away into the distance, together with the dappled dog.

āskandike] **Or**, yaskandīke **K** viskandike] **Or**, vaskandīke **K** \*nṛtyantu] nṛtyatu **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], nṛtyata **Pa**, nṛtyataś **K** sāraṅgeṇa] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], sā(→sī)raṅgeṇa **Pa**, śārṅgena **K** śunā] **K**, sunā **Or** ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *nṛtyatu* in **b**.

- **a**. This stanza is parallel to 15.18.3, which has three pādas as well and begins with two vocatives, too. The two vocatives *āskandike viskandike* 'O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper' are possibly two other names of the Apsarases or just epithets. See my comment under 18.3a.
- **b**. The singular *nrtyatu* is impossible here. On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, cf. PS 15.18.9 below and GRIFFITHS 2009: 388.
- **c**. Griffiths 2009: 385 suggests that 'the dappled dog' is the sun, as it seems clear also from the next stanza.

# **15.18.8** [Anuştubh] PS only, b: PS 19.16.16b, c: PS 8.7.6d, 19.16.16c, d: PS 16.14.6d, 19.16.1d, 19.24.3d

yaḥ sāraṅgo hiraṇyadañ	A
<sup>+</sup> śvā div <sub>i</sub> yaḥ pariplavaḥ	*A
tasyāham nāma jagrabha-	A
-asmā aristatātaye	Α

I have grabbed the name of the dappled dog, having golden teeth, heavenly, floating around, for the safety of this one here.

yaḥ] **Or**, yaś **K** sāraṅgo] **Or**, śāṅgaṁ **K** hiraṇyadan] hiraṇyadaṁ **K Or** 'śvā] svā **Or**, aśvā **K** divyaḥ] **Or**, divyaḥ **K** tasyāhaṁ] **Ku JM RM K**, tasyāhaṅ **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** jagrabhāsmā ariṣṭatātaye **RM**, jagrabhā asmā ariṣṭatātaye **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, jagrabha asmā ariṣṭatātaye **JM**, jagrabhā 'smā ariṣṭatātaye **RM**, jagrabhā asmā ariṣṭatātaye **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

**cd**. On the expression  $n\bar{a}ma$  grabh-, see HOFFMANN 1975: 300 f., and cf. PS 19.24.3 yad gulgulu saindhavam yad  $v\bar{a}$   $gh\bar{a}si$  samudriyam / ubhayor agrabham  $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}sm\bar{a}$   $aristat\bar{a}taye$  'Whether you are the bdellium coming from the Sindhu or, verily, the one coming from the ocean, I have grabbed the name of both ones, for the safety of this one here'.

A closer parallel passage is PS 19.16.16 *yaḥ piśango \*ayodamṣṭrāḥ śvā divyaḥ pariplavaḥ | tasyāham nāma jagrabhāsmā ariṣṭatātaye ayam no jīvatād iti* 'I have grabbed the name of the tawny dog, having iron teeth, heavenly, floating around, for the safety of this one here [with the intention]: let this one [patient] of ours live!'.

This stanza seems to confirm the identification of the dog with the sun and hints at the presence of a patient involved in a ritual (cf. the use of *amum* at 15.18.5c).

#### **15.18.9** [Anuştubh] PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.7b

†ad <sub>i</sub> yāmte viraņī †	*A7
parācīr apa nŗtyata	A
śŗṇāmi ghorā vaḥ *pṛṣṭīr	#A
brahmaṇā kīkasā uta	A

... (?) dance turning away. O terrible ones, with a formula I break your ribs, and your vertebras.

adyām te] **Or**, kankate **K** viranī] **Or**, vīrṇa **K** parācīr] **Or**, parācair **K** nṛtyata] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, nṛtyatu **JM RM**, nṛtyataś **K** śṛṇāmi] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, śrīṇāmi **Ku** ghorā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ghora **Pa** vaḥ] **Or**, va **K** \*pṛṣṭīr] pṛṣṭī **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pṛṣṭi {ḥ} **JM** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 9 **Z K** 

#### Bhattacharya edits *adyām te viraṇī* in **a**.

- a. The reading adyām te viraṇī is transmitted by all the Orissa manuscripts, while **K** reads kankate vīrṇā. Barret proposes "something like ye 'kankate vīrṇāḥ". I can offer no convincing solution for the interpretation of this pāda. The first part of the verse may contain a verbal form or a combination of adya 'today' + ante 'at the end'. As regards viraṇī, one could think of the verb viraṇ- 'to cause to sound, play upon a musical instrument', and emend to \*viraṇaniḥ, which would give the verse the correct number of syllables. Another possibility is also the noun vīraṇī- f. 'a side glance', which could correspond to the expression found at 19.6b sācy \*akṣī karikratīḥ 'constantly making sidelong glances', but again the text would be not grammatically correct.
  - **b**. On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, see my note at 15.18.7b above.
- c. Both **K** and **Or** read  $p_r s_r t_l$ , but a dual is hardly conceivable here. Besides being never attested in the dual, the word  $p_r s_r t_l$ , meaning 'rib', is often found in the plural as object of the verb  $s_r t_l$  'to crush, break' (cf. RV 10.87.10c = SS 8.3.10c = PS 16.6.10c, SS 2.7.5d = PS 20.18.4d, SS 2.32.2c = 5.23.9c = PS 7.2.6c, SS 6.32.2b, SS 6.32.2b,

# **15.18.10** [Mahāpaṅkti] PS only, ef: PS 15.19.1cd, f: ŚS 2.2.5d

ekatrimśad aśvavatīś	#A
catasra uta gunguvah	A
śivā daśa <sup>+</sup> śrutā daśa	A
keśinīḥ pañcavimśatiḥ	A
idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ	A

Thirty-one rich in horses and four Gungūs, ten benevolent, ten famous, twenty-five having long hair. I paid homage here to the Ulungulukā Apsarases.

ekatrimśad] **Or**, ekatnyamsa(→rṇyamśa)d **K** aśvavatīś] **Or**, agvavatī **K** uta guṅguvaḥ] **Or**, udakaṁguvaś **K** \*śrutā] śr̥tā **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, śrītā **Ku**, srutā **K** keśinīḥ] keśinīḥ **Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, keśanīḥ **JM RM Pa**, ke· · ĪḤ **Ku** pañcaviṁśatiḥ] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, PAṁCAVIṁśatiḥ **Ku**, pañcaviśaṁtiḥ **RM**, pañcaviṁśatīḥ **K** idam] **Or**, yadim **K** uluṅgulukābhyo] **Or**, uluṁgulukābhyo **K** apsarābhyo] **Or**, psarābhyo **K** karaṁ] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, karan **RM Pa** ||] ||<sup>kā</sup> r 11 || 18 || **Ku**, || r 9 || 18 || **JM**, | r | 18 || **RM**, || 18 || r 11 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 10 Z **K** 

ŚS 2.2.5cd

tábhyo gandharvábhyo 'psarábhyo 'karam námah ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *śrtā* in **c**.

**b**. The plural *guṅguvaḥ* refers to the members of a mythical tribe, the descendants of Guṅgu, at RV 10.48.8ab *aháṁ guṅgúbhyo atithigvám íṣkaram íṣaṁ ná vṛtratúraṁ vikṣú dhārayam* 'For

the Gungus I established (king) Atithigva like nourishment, I put among the clans the one overcoming enemies'. Cf. also PS 2.65.1f *viśas tvā sarvā anu gungavo bhavantu* 'Let all the clans, the Gungus, devote themselves to you'. The mention of this mytical clan is slighty out of the context and could be justified on account of the two adjectives *viśvájanya*- and *páñcajanya*-that qualify the Apsarases at 18.2a. It seems that the word is used as an epithet of four Apsarases here.

- **c**. The correct reading is clear, since the Oriya vowel sign -r is pronounced [ru] and the confusion between -s and -s is very frequent in **K**.
- **ef**. The total number of Apsarases is thus 80. These two pādas are the refrain repeated in the following twelve stanzas.

#### 15.19. Against Apsarases (continued)

# **15.19.1** [**Anuṣṭubh**] PS only, a: cf. PS 5.9.6b, cd: PS 15.18.10ef yāḥ preṅkhe preṅkhayante

A7

santāne mālavā iva °°° |

Α

Who swing in a swing, like girls from Mālava (?) in a line. (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ] **Or**, yāḥ **K** prenkhe] **Or**, prayamkhe **K** prenkhayante] **Or**, prayamkhayante **K** santāne] **Or**, samtvānena **K** mālavā iva] **Or**, mālvāyavaḥ **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **Ku RM**, Z 1 **K** 

PS 5.9.6b

yāḥ prenkhe †prenkhayanta uta yā nu ghorāḥ |

- **a**. The Apsarases and the Gandharvas are often associated with a 'swing' in the PS: besides the identical verse PS 5.9.6b, cf. PS 7.13.4ab *yāsām prenkho divi baddho antarikṣe hiraṇyayaḥ* 'They [Apsarases] in the intermediate space whose golden swing is tied in the sky' and PS 12.7.5ab *yatra prenkho gandharvāṇām divi baddho hiraṇyayaḥ* 'Where the Gandharvas' golden swing is tied in the sky'.
  - **b**. The translation I give here was proposed by GRIFFITHS 2009: 388.

## **15.19.2** [**Anustubh**] PS only, a: PS 1.29.1a = 1.36.1a, ab: PS 7.13.2ab

yāḥ purastād ācaranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ °°° | +A

A

Who approach from the East together with the rays of the sun: (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ] Or, yāḥ K ācaranti] Or, ācaranty K sākaṁ] Or, āra K sūryasya] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, s $\{u\}$ ūryasya Pa ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, ||<sup>kā</sup> JM, | RM, Z 2 Z K

PS 1.29.1

yāḥ purastād ācaranti nīcaiḥ sūryād adho divaḥ | etam apsarasām vrātam brahmaṇāchā vadāmasi ||

PS 7.13.2ab

yāḥ purastād ācaranti sākam sūryasya raśmibhiḥ |

- **a**. This pāda is identical with PS 1.29.1a, 1.36.1a, PS 7.13.2a. The first pādas of PS 15.19.2–5 are found in the same sequence at PS 1.29.1–2 and PS 1.36.1–4.
- **b**. As noticed by GRIFFITHS 2009: 386, this pāda features the same content as \$\$\text{S}\$\$ 4.38.5ab s u r a

#### **15.19.3** [Anuştubh] PS only, a: PS 1.29.2a = 1.36.2a

yā adharād ācarant $_i$ y \*+A anasā  $^+$ chadiṣā saha  $^\circ$   $^\circ$   $\parallel$  A

Who approach from the South with a cart, with a canopy: (I paid homage here...).

yā adharād] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yā a · rād **Ku**, yādharād **K** anasā] **Or**, arasāt **K** +chadiṣā] chadisā **Or**, saruṣā **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

**b**. The word *ánas*-, which in the RV often refers to Uṣas-Sūryā's chariot, is defined in EWAia as 'Lastwagen, Troßwagen, Reisekarren; im Gegensatz zum Streit- oder Rennenwagen, *rátha-*'; *chadís* means 'cover', 'roof of a carriage', 'roof'. These two words are attested together also at RV 10.85.10ab *máno asyā ána āsīd dyáur āsīd utá chadíḥ* 'Her [of Sūryā] mind was the bridal cart, the canopy thereof was heaven'. Since the Gandharvas and the Apsarases are sometimes requested to be propitious to a passing wedding procession (cf. ŚS 14.2.9), this stanza may contain an allusion to this function of the Apsarases. For the association of the Apsarases with chariots, see also GRIFFITHS 2009: 389.

#### 15.19.4 [Anuştubh] PS only, a: PS 1.36.3a

yāḥ paścād ācarant¡y A7
andhena tamasā saha ° ° ° || A

Who approach from the West together with the darkness, with the gloom: (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , yāḥ  $\mathbf{K}$  ācaranty]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$   $\mathbf{Pa}$   $\mathbf{K}$ , ācaramty  $\mathbf{RM}$  tamasā]  $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$   $\mathbf{K}$ , tamasā  $\mathbf{Pa}$  ||]  $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$   $[\mathbf{Ma}]$   $\mathbf{Pa}$ , || $^{k\bar{a}}$   $\mathbf{JM}$ , |  $\mathbf{RM}$ , om.  $\mathbf{Ku}$ ,  $\mathbf{Z}$   $\mathbf{K}$ 

#### PS 1.36.3

yāḥ paścād ācaranti purastād vā sadānvāḥ | aśmānam rchantīr yantu yo 'yam svādāv +anādyaḥ ||

**b**. This stanza is to be read in parallel with PS 15.19.2. Since the East is naturally associated with the rays of the sun, the West is seen as the kingdom of darkness. The Apsarases are called  $t\acute{a}mis\bar{\iota}cayah$  'dusky' at  $\acute{S}S$  2.2.5a = PS 1.7.5a.

#### **15.19.5** [Anuştubh] PS only, a: PS 1.36.4a

yā uttarād ācaranti +A varṣeṇa vidyutā saha °°° | A

Who approach from the North with the rain, with the lightning: (I paid homage here...).

uttarād] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, uttarā{diā}d **Pa** varṣeṇa] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, varpeṇa **Pa** vidyutā] **Or**, vidyutās **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

PS 1.36.4ab

yā uttarād ācaranty adharād vā sadānvāḥ |

#### **15.19.6** [**Anuştubh**] PS only, b: PS 7.13.7b

yā adhastād udvīkṣante #A sāc¡y \*akṣī karikratīḥ ° ° ° | \*A Who look upward from below, constantly making sidelong glances: (I paid homage here...).

adhastād] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, a{·}dhastād **RM** udvīkṣante] **Or**, udīkṣante **K** sācy \*akṣī] sācyakṣi **Or**, sācakṣu **K** karikratīḥ] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, karikratiḥ **RM**, kanikratī **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

PS 7.13.7ab yā vṛkṣaṁ parisarpanti sācy <sup>+</sup>akṣī karikratīḥ |

Bhattacharya edits *sācyakṣi* in **b**.

**b.** For the interpretation of the word  $s\bar{a}c\bar{t}$ -, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 390–1. Bhattacharya edits  $ak\bar{s}i$  here and at PS 7.13.7b, where the readings of the manuscripts are the same. As stated by Griffiths, "It is clear that we rather need a dual here, which is provided by the archaic form  $ak\bar{s}\bar{\imath}$  (AiGr. III, § 158, p. 303). Confusion of short and long  $\bar{\imath}$  is rampant in the Orissa manuscripts and may have been caused here by the fact that the form  $ak\bar{s}\bar{\imath}$  was no longer known to the reciters (having been replaced by  $ak\bar{s}in\bar{\imath}$ )". For the idea of the Apsarases making grimaces and other demoniac gestures, cf. PS 1.29.2b  $jihm\bar{a}$   $mukh\bar{a}$   $karikrat\bar{\imath}h$  '[The Apsarases] constantly making their mouths obliques/making grimaces'.

## **15.19.7** [Anuştubh] PS only

Who look down from above, wearing dark-blue ornaments: (I paid homage here...).

upariṣṭād]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , upariṣṭhād  $\mathbf{K}$  avekṣante]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , avīkṣyante  $\mathbf{K}$  nīlavyaktāni]  $\mathbf{Ku}$  JM RM Pa  $\mathbf{K}$ , nīlevyaktāni Mā, nīlavyaktāni [Ma] bibhratīḥ]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , bibhratī  $\mathbf{K}$  ||] Mā [Ma] Pa, || $^{k\bar{a}}$  Ku JM, | RM, Z 6 Z K

**b**. The meaning of the compound  $n\bar{\imath}lavyakta$ -, which is a hapax, is difficult. The first member is clear: it is the adjective  $n\bar{\imath}la$ -, which means 'blue, dark-blue'. The second member is more problematic; vyakta- means 'adorned, beautiful, manifested, visible', and I interpret the neuter plural as 'beautiful things, ornaments' (see Kuiper 1953: 87 = 1997: 272). Cf. also the noun vyanjana- 'decoration, ornament', which derives from the same verb vyanj- 'to decorate, adorn'.

#### **15.19.8** [Anuştubh] PS only

```
yā antarikṣe īrayanti +A
vātena reṣmaṇā saha °°° | A
```

Who raise (the waters?) in the intermediate space, with the wind, with the storm: (I paid homage here...).

antarikṣe] K, antarikṣa Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, āntarikṣa JM rayanti] K, īrayanti Or vātena] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, vātenā RM reṣmaṇā] Ku JM RM Pa K, reśmaṇā [Mā, Ma] ||] Mā [Ma] Pa, ||<sup>kā</sup> Ku JM, | RM, | K

Bhattacharya edits *antarikṣa īrayanti* in **a**.

a. The text of the Orissa manuscripts is problematic. The verb *īrayati* 'raises', 'sets in motion' is always transitive (cf. Insler 1967: 253–54 and Jamison 1983: 124), so we would expect an object here, but it is difficult to determine which word should be understood. In PS 5.7.4a — a verse which appears in a hymn for abundant rain — *ud īrayata marutaḥ samudratas* 'Raise, o Maruts, [the waters] from the ocean', *āpas* can be understood because it occurs as object of the same verb in a stanza of the same hymn (PS 5.7.10b); in our hymn, on the contrary, this is the only occurrence of the verb. The best solution seems to follow the reading of **K** and edit \**rāyanti* ('they bark'; cf. RENOU 1957c: 111), which is better also for the metre (the text of **Or** would give an extended Anuṣṭubh pāda, while that of **K** gives an Anuṣṭubh pāda with a final trochaic rhythm).

#### **15.19.9** [Anuştubh] PS only

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ

#### PS 7.13.11ab (+ different refrain)

yā nadīḥ pratigāhante	+#A
samrabhya kan <sub>i</sub> yā iva	*A
[idam ulungulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ    ]	A

Who plunge into the rivers, like girls holding on to each other: (I paid homage here...).

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] K**, yā nadir iti catasraḥ **Pa RM** idam uluṅgulukottarāḥ **Ku Pa [Ma]** idam uluṅgulukottarā **JM RM**, idam ulukottarāḥ **Mā**, idam uluṁgulukottarā **K** ||] || r || 19 || **Ku**, || r 12 || {9} 19 || **JM**, || r | 19 || **RM**, || 19 || r || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 8 Z kāṇḍaḥ 5 Z Z iti caturtho nuvāka pañcadaśaḥ Z **K** 

**ab**. All the manuscripts have the pratīka *yā nadīr* plus *iti catasraḥ*, which refers back to PS 7.13.11–14; the difference between these two sets of four stanzas consists in the refrain of pādas **cd** and it is indicated by the addition of *idam ulungulukottarāḥ* after the pratīka (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XLII-III).

On the association of the Apsarases with rivers, cf. next stanza and ŚS 4.37.3ab ( $\approx$  PS 12.7.3ab) *nadīm yantv apsaráso pām tārám avaśvasám* 'Let the Apsarases go to the stream, to the loud (?) down-blowing of the waters' (Whitney).

## **15.19.10** [**Anuṣṭubh**] = PS 7.13.12ab (+ different refrain)

```
yās tīrthāni vigāhante +#A 
a'ghn<sub>i</sub>yāḥ *śvasatīr iva \circ \circ \circ \parallel *A
```

Who dive into the fords, like snorting cows: (I paid homage here...).

**b**. The emendation has been proposed by Bhattacharya who, inconsistently, edits  $\underline{sva}sat\bar{t}r$  at PS 7.13.12b.

**15.19.11** [Anuştubh] = PS 7.13.13ab (+ different refrain), a: PS 15.23.13a, 19.20.14a,  $19.33.15a \approx \text{RV} \ 7.55.7b = \text{PS} \ 4.6.1b$ 

```
yāḥ samudrād uccarantiy*+Auccair ghoṣān karikratīḥ |A[idam uluṅgulukābhyo#Aapsarābhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ || ]A
```

Who rise up from the ocean, constantly making loud noises: (I paid homage here...).

- **a**. On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, see PS 15.18.5 above, ŚS 2.2.3 (≈ PS 1.7.3) anavadyábhiḥ sám u jagma ābhir apsarásv ápi gandharvá āsīt | samudrá āsām sádanam ma āhur yátaḥ sadyá á ca párā ca yánti 'He became united with those irreproachable ones. The Gandharva was there, among the Apsarases. Their seat they say to me is in the ocean, from which they always come and go' and PS 12.7.4a yatrāmartyā apsv antaḥ samudre 'Where the immortal ones (scil. Apsarases) [are], under the waters, in the ocean'.
- **b.** On the noise of the Apsarases, see the parallel passages quoted and translated by GRIFFITHS 2009: 384–5. To those passages one could add also ŚS 2.2.5 = PS 1.7.5, which is closer to our text as it refers to the Apsarases too:  $y\bar{a}h$  klandās tamiṣīcayo akṣakāmā manomuhaḥ | tābhyo gandharvapatnībhyo apsarābhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ 'Who [are] noisy, dusky, fond of dice, mind-confusing: I paid homage here to these Apsarases, the Gandharvas' wives'. Cf. also ŚS 5.20.1a = PS 9.27.1a uccaírghoṣo dundubhíḥ satvanāyán 'The war-drum, sounding aloud, warrior-like' and ŚS 9.1.8ab = PS 16.32.8ab hiṅkárikratī bṛhatī vayodhā uccaírghoṣābhyéti yā vratám 'She who crying much, high, bestowing strength, sounding aloud, goes along the course (?)', in which the compound adjective uccaírghoṣa- 'sounding aloud' is equivalent to the phrase uccair ghoṣān kṛ- found in our pāda.

## **15.19.12** [**Anuştubh**] = PS 7.13.14ab (+ different refrain), b: cf. PS 6.14.6c

yā gachanti janam janam	A
ichantīḥ prayutam bahu	A
idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ	A

Who go from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one: I paid homage here to the Ulungulukā Apsarases.

**b**. Following DELBRÜCK 1888: 185, I take *bahu* adverbially. For other occurrences of the expression *prayutam ichati* in the PS and of similar images of demons bothering sleeping or absent-minded persons, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 177.

#### 15.20. To Rudra

PS 15.20 and 21, which contain ten and eight stanzas respectively, must be considered a single hymn that conforms to the norm of 18 stanzas per hymn expected in this kāṇḍa. It is significant that the norm concerning the number of stanzas is observed in this particular hymn, as it is dedicated exclusively to Rudra and represents, so to speak, the core of the section I have designated as the "Rudraic hymns" of kāṇḍa 15.

The hymn is very composite: the first seven stanzas, with the sole exception of stanza six, attested only here in the PS, are an original, skilful and to some extent playful rearrangement of RV 2.33, a hymn dedicated to Rudra. The eighth stanza contains an homage to the lightning, while stanzas nine and ten are again addressed to Rudra, who is requested to bestow protection and ward off the *yakṣma*. At the beginning of the "new hymn", Rudra is addressed with the epithet *paśupati* 'lord of cattle', used in the dual (*paśupatī* 'the two lords of animals'), with reference to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of the god himself, who are praised in order that they protect the cattle and are benevolent.

There are a few clear links with the preceding hymn: *paśyasi* in 20.7e corresponds to *paśyam* in 18.4a; *namas* in 20.8ac to *namaḥ* in the refrain of hymn 19 (pāda **d** of every stanza); *adho divaḥ* in 21.7b occurs also at 18.4b; *divaḥ* in 21.7b and *divi* in 21.8d correspond to *divaḥ* in 18.4b and *divaṁ* in 18.6a. The verb *jaghnatus* in 21.2c echoes the three forms of the root *han*found at 18.2d (*hatā*), 3c (*jahi*) and 4d (*hanta*).

## **15.20.1** [N.N.] PS only, cf. RV 2.33.2

tvaj jātā rudra śantamā	A
t <sub>u</sub> vam hi no babhuryā bheṣajebhiḥ	*Ta
vi yakṣmān yāvayāsmad v <sub>i</sub> y <sup>+</sup> aṁho	*T3
v <sub>i</sub> y amīvāś cātayāsmad viṣūcīḥ	*+Ta

O Rudra, the most beneficent ones (medicines) are born from you. Since you would sustain us with [your] medicines. Keep the forms of *yakṣma* away from us, [keep] away distress; make the diseases flee from us in all directions.

rudra] **K**, rdra **Or** śantamā] **K**, santamā **Or** tvaḿ] **Or**, no **K** babhuryā] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, babhuryā iraya Mā, babhūjyā **K** vy yakṣmān] vy yakṣmām **Or**, vīkṣmān **K** yāvayāsmad] **Or**, yāvayāssad **K** vy amho] vy ango **Ku JM RM**, yango **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vy oho **K** vy amīvāś] **Or**, mevaś **K** viṣūcīḥ] **Ku JM RM**, viṣucīḥ **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, viṣūcī **K** [[]] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** Z 1 Z **K** 

#### RV 2.33.2

tvādattebhī rudra śámtamebhiḥ śatám hímā aśīya bheṣajébhiḥ | vy àsmád dvéṣo vitarám vy ámho vy ámīvāś cātayasvā víṣūcīḥ ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *babhuryā* in **b**, *vyakṣmām* in **c** and $^+$ *viṣūcīḥ* in **d**.

a. I interpret jātā and śantamā as two nominative neuter plurals that refer to an understood noun *bheṣajā* 'medicines', which can be easily inferred from the next pāda (*bheṣajebhiḥ*) and from the parallel Rgvedic passage. This Anuṣṭubh line is a recast version of the Triṣṭubh line RV 2.33.2a tvādattebhī rudra śantamebhiḥ 'O Rudra, with the most beneficient (medicines) given by you'.

**b.** I translate  $babhury\bar{a}$  as a  $2^{nd}$  singular perfect optative active from the root bhr. As regards the reduplication, forms with ja- and ba- are both already attested for the perfect stem of this root in the RV (with ba- only in the middle; cf. KÜMMEL 2000: 338–343). Kümmel's statement that active forms with b- reduplication are found from the ŚB onwards needs to be corrected, since the PS provides the earliest attestation of this type of formation. For the root form, cf. the desiderative  $bubh\bar{u}r\bar{s}ati$  (attested from the Brahmanas onwards), and for the meaning 'to sustain, to protect', cf. my comment at PS 15.10.4b. The particle hi occurs with an optative also at 15.20.4a.

As noted in Bhattacharya's critical apparatus, the manuscript  $M\bar{a}$  adds the word *iraya* 'raise' after *babhuryā*, which is probably a gloss of this uncommon verbal form.

- c. The form  $vyak sym \bar{a}\dot{m}$  is clearly an accusative plural (the use of the  $anusv\bar{a}ra$  is a common spelling for the final nasal in **Or**, especially after long  $-\bar{a}$ ; cf. Griffiths 2009: LVI-LVIII. In this case, moreover, the correct ending is preserved in **K**). I do not mark such cases as an emendation (see also under 15.22.1bc below). At the end of the line, Bhattacharya edits vyamho, which is confirmed by the vyamho greatlel. As regards the metre, this Tristubh catalectic pada could be regularized by reading vyaksymam (see Kubisch 2007: 7–8 and PS 15.22.4ad below), which would make the opening regular.
  - **d**. The evidence of the Orissa manuscripts makes the "+"-sign before *viṣūcīḥ* unnecessary.

#### **15.20.2** [**Tristubh**] PS only, ab: cf. RV 2.33.3ab

tvam devānām asi rudra śr <sub>ai</sub> eṣṭhas	*Ta
*tavastamas tavasām ugrabāho	Ta
hṛṇīyasā manasā modamāna	Ta
ā babhūvitha rud <sub>i</sub> rasya sūnoḥ	*+Tb

O Rudra, you are the chief of the gods, the strongest among the strong ones, O you having powerful arms. Enjoying in your very angry mind, you are born from the son of Rudra.

devānām] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, devānā{m}m Pa rudra] rdra Or, rudraś K śreṣṭhas] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, śreṣ{ta}thas JM \*tavastamas] tavastavas Ku RM [Ma], tavas JM Mā Pa, tapastavas K tavasām] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, tavasā Mā hrṇīyasā] Or, hariṇīyasā K modamāna] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, modamānā RM K ā] Or (om. K) babhūvitha] Or, babhūyavyatha K rudrasya] K, rdrasya Or sūnoḥ] Or, sūno K |||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM Z 2 Z K

RV 2.33.3ab

śréstho jātásya rudra śriyāsi tavástamas tavásām vajrabāho

#### Bhattacharya edits *tavasta<u>va</u>s* in **b**.

- **a**. The word śréṣṭha- is often to be read śráyiṣṭha for the sake of the metre (e.g. at RV 4.1.6a, 5.82.1c, 6.16.26a, 68.2a, 10.76.2a). In the RV, it is found twice in the cadence, as in our stanza, viz. at 6.16.2a krátvā dā astu śréstho and 10.63.16a svastír íd dhí prápathe śrésthā.
- **b**. In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya admits that the text is emendable according to  $^{R}V$  2.33.3b. The mistake of the manuscripts was obviously favoured by the long sequence of identical akṣaras at the beginning of the line ( $s//ta-va-sta-ma-sta-va-s\bar{a}$ ).
- c. The form  $h_r n \bar{i} y as \bar{a}$  is problematic. Following DELBRÜCK 1874: 204–5, NARTEN 1982: 141 interprets the form  $h_r n \bar{i} y am \bar{a} n a$  (RV +) as a denominative formation from an unattested noun

\*hrni- 'anger, wrath', built from the present stem hrnite (root hr-; from the same present stem, through \*hrni-, the forms hrniayánt-, durhanayánt-, durhanayánt-, durhanayán- and durhanayán- are derived). If we accept that the noun \*hrni- could have served as a quasi-root for denominative formations, the form hrniyasa could then be interpreted as an instrumental singular of an adjective hrniyas-, formed from \*hrni- plus the comparative suffix.

Cf. PS 3.26.1a  $\approx$  VS 3.41, ĀpŚS 6.27.5, LātŚS 3.3.1, ŚāṅkhGS 3.7  $grh\bar{a}n \ aimi^+$  (ĀpŚS  $\bar{a}g\bar{a}m$ )  $manas\bar{a} \ modam\bar{a}na$  (ĀpŚS  $modam\bar{a}na\dot{p}$ ) 'I come to the house enjoying in my mind' ( $\approx$  ŚS 7.60.1c  $grh\bar{a}n \ aimi \ sum\acute{a}n\bar{a} \ v\acute{a}ndam\bar{a}no$  'I come to the house well-willing, greeting').

**d**. The restoration of  $rudr\acute{a}$ - as  $rud_ir\acute{a}$ -, which was probably an imitation of that of  $\acute{i}ndra$ - as  $\acute{i}nd_ira$ -, is already found in the RV, predominantly after a late caesura (cf. ARNOLD 1905: 98 and PRAUST 2000: 430 ff.).

Note that the phrase 'You are born from the son of Rudra' contains a paradox. How can Rudra be born from his own son? The expression *rudrásya sūnú*- usually refers to the Maruts (e.g. RV 1.64.12b, 1.85.1b, 5.42.15b, 6.50.4a, ecc.), whose mention, however, does not fit the context here.

#### **15.20.3** [**Tristubh**] PS only, a: cf. RV 2.33.4c, b: cf. RV 2.33.6a, c: cf. RV 2.33.3c

tvam hi no vīrām īraya bheṣajebhir	+T2
un no bhavantu maghavo marutvan	Tb
karā naḥ pāram amhasaḥ suvasti	*Tb
viśvā abhītīr apa sedh <sub>a</sub> āsmat	*Tb

With your medicines pray set in motion our heroes. O bountiful, attended by the Maruts, let them raise us. You will lead us to the opposite side of distress, to well-being; drive away from us all the attacks.

vīrām K, vīrān Or īraya Ku RM Mā [Ma], iraya JM Pa, īre K bheşajebhir urum no] K, bheşajebhir ānvo Ku, bheşajebhirnno JM, bheşajebhirnvo RM, bheşajebhirnvā Pa, bheşajebhiranyo Mā, bheşajebhīrnvo [Ma] bhavantu JM, bhavantu RM Pa, bhavant{u}a Ku, bhavanta Mā [Ma], vamna K marutvan] marutvam K, martvam Or karā] Or, kacā K naḥ Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, na Mā, naḥ K pāram Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, pāra(→ta)m Mā, pātum K amhasaḥ Or, amhasa K viśvā abhītīr] viśvā abhītīr Ku Pa Mā [Ma], viśvā abhītīr RM, viśvān abhītīr JM, viśvābhītīr K ∥ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM Z 3 Z K

RV 2.33.3cd

párși nah pārám ámhasah svastí vísvā abhitī rápaso yuyodhi ||

RV 2.33.4cd

ún no vīrām arpaya bheṣajébhir bhiṣáktamam tvā bhiṣájām śṛṇomi ||

RV 2.33.6ab

ún mā mamanda vṛṣabhó marútvān tvákṣīyasā váyasā nādhamānam

Bhattacharya edits *urum no bhavantamaghavo marutvam* in **b**.

- a. This pāda is to be compared with RV 2.33.4c ún no vīrām arpaya bheṣajébhir 'Raise up our heroes with your medicines'. At PS 1.95.1d the verse occurs nearly identically as in the RV, the only difference being the use of *īraya* instead of *arpaya* (on which see Zehnder 1993: 166). Our passage is a step further from the original source; besides having *īraya* as in PS 1.95.1d, the beginning of the pāda seems to be a repetition of 15.20.1d (*tvam hi no babhuryā bheṣajebhiḥ*), as suggested by the use of *hi* with an imperative (on which see Delbrück 1888: 522) and by the metre (dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening with irregular rhytm trisyllabic break and a Triṣṭubh cadence). Note that the same pāda-opening occurs also in the next stanza.
- **b**. The interpretation of this verse is difficult. I follow the reading of **JM**, which seems to be the manuscript with the best text as regards both the meaning and the metre (note that in **Or**, the vowel sign -ṛ- is pronounced [ru]).

Although it is metrically awkward, the occurrence of *amhasaḥ* in the next line is semantically functional in creating the well-know opposition between 'wide space' and 'narrowness'.

For the vocative *maghavas*, from *maghavan*-, due to the influence of *vant*- stems, see AiGr. III, § 144, p. 264. Also *marutvan* shows the later vocative ending *-van*, which is attested from AV onwards (see AiGr. III, § 142, p. 258).

- c. This pāda is identical with the Rgvedic parallel except for the initial verb. Instead of  $p\acute{a}rsi$ , the PS has  $kar\bar{a}$ , which I interpret as a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular aorist subjunctive with double characterization.
- **d**. This pāda is a variation of RV 2.33.3d *víśvā abhītī rápaso yuyodhi* 'Ward off all the attacks of injury'. The PS variation arises from a different segmentation of the sequence *abhītī rápaso*, re-interpreted as *abhītīr ápa* followed by a verb.

## **15.20.4** [**Triştubh-Jagatī**] PS only, a: cf. RV 2.33.7d

tuvam hi no vṛṣabha *cakṣamīthā	*(+#)Ta
asmai rudrāy <sub>au</sub> ogrāya mīḍhuṣe	*J1c
kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe matim	Jb
yathā naḥ śam aso dvipade śam catuṣpade	$^{\circ}\mathrm{Ja}$

O bull, may you become indulgent to us. To this one, to Rudra, the mighty, the patron, to the ruler of men we bring praise, so that you be auspicious to our biped, auspicious to our quadruped.

\*cakṣamīthā] cakṣimeṣṭhā **Or**, cakṣaseṣṭhā **K** asmai] **Or**, yusme **K** rudrāyogrāya] **K**, ṛdrāyogrāya **Or** mīḍhuṣe] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, mīḍuṣe **RM**?, mīḍu(→su)ṣe **Pa** kṣayadvīrāya] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], kṣayadvīr{o}āya **Pa**, kṣīravīrāya **K** pra] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, prā **Pa** bharāmahe matim **JM K**, tarāmahe matim **Ku RM**, tarāmahetim **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** naḥ śam aso] naś śam aso **K**, nas tamaso **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** Z 4 Z **K** 

#### Bhattacharya edits cakşimeşthā in a.

**a**. The verbal form should be a  $2^{nd}$  singular optative perfect middle from  $k\bar{s}am$ - 'be indulgent' (note that the reading of **K** has the -a- of the root), so I emend the text according to the parallel Rgvedic passage 2.33.7d  $abh\bar{i}$   $n\dot{u}$   $m\bar{a}$   $v_r\bar{s}abha$   $cak\bar{s}am\bar{i}th\bar{a}h$  'O bull, now may you become indulgent to us'. It is worth noting that the redactor addresses Rudra twice with the perfect optative accompanied by the particle hi (here and in the first stanza).

**d**. This pāda is extended (14 syllables). The unanimous reading of all the manuscripts advises against any deletion, but both *nah* and the second *śam* seem superfluous.

#### **15.20.5** [N.N.] RV 2.33.7abc

k <sub>u</sub> va te șu rudra hasto	*+A
mŗḍayāko jalāṣaḥ	!A7
apabhartā rapaso daiv <sub>i</sub> yasya	*+Ta

O Rudra, merciful one, where is indeed your soothing hand, which takes away the ailment of the gods (coming from the gods)?

te ṣu] **Or**, cetu **K** rudra] **K**, rdra **Or** hasto] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, dasto **Pa** mrḍayāko] **Or**, mrḷayāko **K** jalāṣaḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, jalāṣa(→ṣa)ḥ **JM** apabhartā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**], apabhartā **JM Pa**, apibhartā **K** rapaso] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, ra{·}paso **Ku** daivyasya] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, daivyasa **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** Z 5 Z **K** 

#### RV 2.33.7

kvà syá te rudra mrlayákur hásto yó ásti bhesajó jálāsah l apabhartá rápaso dáivyasyābhí nú mā vrsabha caksamīthāh ll

The first two pādas of this stanza are a rearrangement of  $\mbox{\ensuremath{RV}}\mbox{\ensuremath{V}}\mbox{\ensuremath{2.33.7ab}}\mbox{, while the third one is identical to <math>\mbox{\ensuremath{RV}}\mbox{\ensuremath{2.33.7c}}\mbox{.}$ 

- **a**. As regards te su, a locative plural 'among them' is out of place here and semantically awkward. On the other hand, the Rgvedic parallel suggests the interpretation of te as the second singular pronoun meaning 'of you, yours', and my translation follows this interpretation, although the sequence te su is rare and occurs only once in the RV (in which the distribution of the two words is  $10 \times su$  te:  $1 \times te$  su:  $1 \times te$  te:  $1 \times te$ :  $1 \times te$ :  $1 \times$
- **b**. The term  $j\acute{a}l\bar{a}s\acute{a}$  'soothing, healing' refers to Rudra himself at RV 7.35.6c = ŚS 19.10.6c = PS 12.16.6c  $\acute{s}\acute{a}m$  no rudró rudrébhir  $j\acute{a}l\bar{a}s\acute{a}h$  'Weal [may be] for us Rudra, the healer, with the Rudras'. The compound  $j\acute{a}l\bar{a}s\acute{a}bhes\acute{a}ja$  'whose medicines are soothing' always refers to Rudra, viz. at RV 1.43.4b, 8.29.5b, ŚS 2.27.6 = PS 2.16.4a, PS 5.22.9c, 14.3.3c, 20.62.2a.

#### **15.20.6** [Virāj] PS only, a: cf. ŚS 2.10.5b

pra yakṣmaḥ pra nirrtir etuv asmat	*+(#)Ta
<sup>+</sup> seneva srstā pracatām amīvā	Tb
ārādhvam sanā vrjanā *jahīta	+Tb

Let the *yakṣma*, let Nirrti go away from us. Let the disease [go away] stealthily, like a shot spear. Be satisfied forever, leave our settlements.

pra] **Or**, pari **K** yakṣmaḥ pra nirṛtir] **Ku JM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yakṣma pra nirṛtir Mā, yakṣmaḥ pra nirṛter **RM**, nidadhir **K** \*seneva] senova **Or**, syeneva **K** sṛṣṭā] **Or**, siṣṭhā **K** pracatām] **Or**, pṛtadān **K** amīvā] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, amīvāṁ **Mā**, amīvāḥ **K** ārādhvaṁ] **JM K**, ārād dhvaṁ **RM**, ārād dhat **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** sanā] **Or**, sainā **K** vṛjanā] **Or**, vratanā **K** \*jahīta] jahīti **Or**, jaitāḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM** Z 6 Z **K** 

tásu tvantár jarásy á dadhámi prá yáksma etu nírrtih paracáih

Bhattacharya edits  $s\underline{r}\underline{s}t\bar{a}$  and  $cat\bar{a}\underline{mam\bar{v}\bar{a}}$  in **b**,  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}ddhat \, san\bar{a}$  and  $ja\underline{h\bar{t}ti}$  in **c**.

- **a**. Since the second *pra* belongs with *etu*, it would be better to have the caesura after the third syllable, but the prosodic structure of the line does not allow it.
- **b**. In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya proposes the reading  $cat\bar{a}n$   $am\bar{v}ah$ . I interpret  $pracat\bar{a}m$  as an adverb (hapax) meaning 'stealthily', derived from  $pracat\bar{a}$  'id.' with addition of the final -m, which is the typical adverbial termination.
- **c**. In the first part of the verse, the manuscripts **JM**, **RM** and **K** seem to have preserved a better reading  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}(d)dhva\dot{m}$ , a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative aroist from the verb  $\bar{a}$ - $r\bar{a}dh$  'to conciliate, be satisfied'. The addressees of this imperative are the three malevolent entities mentioned in pādas **a** and **b** (yakşma, Nirṛti, the disease).

At the end of the line the form  $jah\bar{\imath}ti$  is grammatically impossible and calls for an emendation to a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural \* $jah\bar{\imath}ta$ , slightly supported by the reading  $jait\bar{a}h$  of **K**.

# **15.20.7** [N.N.] abc: cf. RV 2.33.10abc, de: ŚS 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df

arhan dhanur hitam bibharş <sub>i</sub> y	$*^{\circ}A$
arhan niṣkaṁ rajataṁ viśvarūpam	Ta
arhann idam dayase viśvam ejan	Ta
na te dūram na pariṣṭhāsti te bhava	Jb
sadyah *sarvām pari paśyasi bhūmim	#Ta

Being venerable, you carry your speeding bow; being venerable, [you carry] your silver necklace, glittering; being venerable, you cut in pieces this [world] everything that moves. There is nothing far for you, nothing impeding for you, O Bhava. At once you look over the whole earth.

arhan] arham **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, arhad (→ham) [**Ma**], aham **K** hitam] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, ha(→di)tam [**Ma**], haritam **K** arhan] arham **Ku [Ma] Pa**, aham **JM RM Mā K** viśvarūpam] viśvarūpam **K**, viśvar̄pam **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, viśvar̄pam **RM Pa** arhann idam] arhann idam **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, arhamnn idam Mā, arhamn idham **K** dayase] **Or**, te **K** viśvam] **Or**, viṣam **K** ejan] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, eja{m}n **Pa**, ejam **K** na] **Or**, nu **K** pariṣṭhāsti] **JM RM Mā Pa**, pariṣṭhasti **Ku**, pariṣṭāsti [**Ma**], pariṣṭhāsthi **K** \*sarvām] sarvān **Or K** paśyasi] **Or**, paśyāmi **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM** Z 7 Z **K** 

#### RV 2.33.10

árhan bibharşi sấyakāni dhánvấrhan nişkám yajatám viśvárūpam | árhann idám dayase víśvam ábhvam ná vấ ójīyo rudra tvád asti ||

 $$\hat{S}$ 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df$ 

ná te dūrám ná paristhásti te bhava sadyáh sárvām pári pasyasi bhúmim

#### Bhattacharya edits sarvān in e.

**a**. Cf. also ŚS 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a, which is about Rudra too: *dhánur bibharṣi háritaṁ hiraṇyáyam* 'You carry your yellowish, golden bow'. This extended Anuṣṭubh pāda seems indeed an incomplete trimeter, since the sequence *hitam bibharsi* would be a perfect fit in a cadence.

- **b**. On the word *niṣká*, see OBERLIES 1992, who suggests that it indicates an ornament that "vom Nacken und Hals auf die Brust *herabhängt*" (p. 11). In the PS passage, this ornament is qualified as being made of silver (*rajatam*), while in the RV it is said to be 'worthy of worship, adorable' (*yajatam*).
- **c**. At the end of the verse, the PS has the variant *ejan* instead of *ábhvam* 'immense (power)' in the RV. The expression *viśvam ejat* (with which compare the compound *viśvamejaya* 'making everything tremble') occurs in the cadence of Triṣṭubh lines also at PS 14.2.5c, 16.69.9b, 17.1.4c.
- **e**. Here and at PS 16.106.5f, Bhattacharya edits *sarvān*, which is the reading of all the manuscripts, but is not grammatically correct. This mistake, which is found also in the majority of the ŚS manuscripts, must be very old and already present in the archetype of the Ur-AV. Note that the cadence of this verse is wrong.

# **15.20.8** [Anuştubh] $\approx$ ŚS 1.13.1 = PS 19.3.9; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b, ab: VSM 36.21ab, PS 15.23.11ab

namas te astu vidyute	A
namas te <sup>+</sup> stanayitnave	A
namas te ast <sub>u</sub> v aśmane	*A
yena pradiśam asyasi	A

Homage be to your lightning, homage to your thunder; homage be to your bolt with which you shoot into the intermediate direction.

astu] **Or**, stu **K** vidyute] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **K Pa**, vidyate **JM RM** \*stanayitnave] stanaitnave **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], stanaitnavo **Pa**, stanayitnuve **K** astv] **Or**, stv **K** aśmane] **K**, asyane **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, a{sta}syane **JM** yena] **Or**, yenā **K** pradiśam asyasi] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, pradiśam asya{·}si **RM**, dūrāt pradijassasi **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** Z 8 Z **K** 

#### ŚS 1.13.1

námas te astu vidyúte námas te stanayitnáve | námas te astv áśmane yénā dūḍāśe ásyasi ||

#### Bhattacharya edits *pradiśam asyasi* in **d**.

- **b**. In the Orissa manuscripts, the form *stanayitnave* is spelled with the usual simplification ayi > ai (cf. the spelling of this same word at 15.12.3a, 15.23.11b).
- d. The verb as- 'to shoot' is generally followed by a noun in the dative or locative case; since this is not the case, I interpret pradiśam as an accusative of direction, but it should be noted that **K** has a different text, yenā dūrāt pradijassasi, emended by Barret to yenā dūrāt praty asyasi 'With which you shoot from afar' (see also WHITNEY 1905: 14), which yields a good sense too. In this case it is very difficult to decide whether **Or** or **K** has preserved the more original text. I adopt the text of the Orissa manuscripts because it does not require any emendation and is quite satisfactory as regards the meaning. For the construction of the verb as- with an instrumental, besides the parallel ŚS passage quoted above, cf. RV 2.24.8c tásya sādhvī́r iṣavo yā́bhir ásyati 'Leading straight to the goal are his arrows, with which he shoots'.

#### 15.20.9 [Anuştubh] PS only

mā devānām ugra rājann	+A
asmākam puruṣā riṣan	A
rakṣāṁs¡y asmad yakṣmāṁś ca	*#A
nāśayāmasi brahmaṇā	#A

O powerful king of the gods, let our men not get hurt. With a formula do we make disappear the demons and the forms of *yaksma*, away from us.

devānām] **Or**, devānāmm **K** rājann] **Or**, rājam **K** puruṣā] **K**, purṣā **Or** riṣan] riṣam **K**, rṣan **Or** rakṣāmsy] **Or**, rakṣāmsi **K** asmad] **Or**, yasmā **K** yakṣmāmś] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yakṣmāś **Ku**, rakṣāmsi **K** ca] **Or**, om. **K** nāśayāmasi] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, nāsa(→śa)yāmasi **Pa** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM** Z 9 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits \**riṣan* in **b**.

**b**. The confusion r :: ri is quite common in the Orissa manuscripts: cf. e.g. 6.12.7b, 7.8.8d, 7.10.2c (and probably also 23.12d).

The expression  $m\bar{a}$  [...] puruṣo +riṣat is frequent in the PS (cf. i.a. 4.22.5d, 7.7.6d).

## **15.20.10** [**Anuşṭubh**] PS only

brahmaņeto nāśayāmo	+A
yat kim cāngeṣuv āmayat	*A
śalyān yakṣmasyātho ropīs	#A
tā ito vi nayāmasi	A

With a formula we make disappear from here whatever hurts in the limbs. We remove from here the splinters of the *yakṣma* and also the pains.

brahmaṇeto] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, brahm{e}aṇeto Ku nāśayāmo] K, nāśayāmo Or yat] Or, yadi K kim] JM RM K, kiñ Ku Mā [Ma] Pa cāṅgeṣv] JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, cāṅgoṣv Ku āmayat] Or, āruhat K +śalyān] śalyām JM RM Mā [Ma] K, śatyā Ku, śatnyam Pa yakṣmasyātho] Or, yakṣm{ā}asyātho Pa, yakṣmasyāto K tā] Mā [Ma], tāṅ Ku JM RM Pa, ta K ||] || r 10 || 20 || Ku, || r || 20 || JM, || r || 20 || RM, || 20 || r || Mā [Ma] Pa, Z 10 Z K

c. Bhattacharya adopts (with all the manuscripts) the reading śalyām, which is obviously to be understood as an accusative plural. On the meaning of śalyá-, see GRIFFITHS-LUBOTSKY 2014. They consider PS 15.20cd a passage in which, for this word, "a meaning such as 'splinter', or in any case a 'foreign body' less directly associated with arrows, might be preferable". Although this may be true, it should be noted, however, that the use of śalyá- in this hymn could have been suggested by the frequent mention of the arrows and missiles of Rudra-Bhava: cf. 20.6b, 7a and stanza 15.13.10 above. For the association of śalyá- with diseases, cf. PS 1.46.2cd \*māsyā susron nāśayā vyadhmano viṣam bahiḥ śalyaś caratu rogo asmāt 'Let no [blood] of his flow forth: make the poison disappear from the wound. Let the tip, the disease go outside out of him' and PS 7.15.4b śalyān yakṣmān vi vṛhāmo vayam te 'We pull out from you the [arrow] tips, the forms of yakṣma' (Griffiths's translations).

The rare word *rópi*- 'acute pain' is associated with Rudra — addressed as Bhava — also at ŚS 2.11.3b = PS 16.104.3 *krándāya te prānāya yāś ca te bhava rópayah* | *námas te rudra* 

*kṛṇmaḥ sahasrākṣáyāmartya* 'To your cry, your breath and the pains that are yours, O Bhava: we pay homage, O Rudra, having thousand eyes, immortal'.

On the syntax of  $\acute{a}tho$  in the sequence X+Y  $\acute{a}tho$  Z, cf. KLEIN 1985: 84–85.

**d**. The pronoun  $t\bar{a}$  is in grammatical agreement with the feminine plural  $rop\bar{\imath}s$ , but refers ad sensum also to the masculine plural  $\dot{s}aly\bar{a}n$ .

#### 15.21. To Rudra (continued)

**15.21.1** [**Anuşṭubh**] PS only, c: ŚS 16.6.4a, PS 18.50.4a, 20.18.5a, KS 22.5:61.3, VSM 15.15–16 etc.

nayāmi vāṁ paśupatī	#A
ghrtenājyena vardhayan	A
yam dvismo yaś ca no dvesti	+#A
tasya *dveṣaḥ <sup>+</sup> kariṣyathaḥ	A

I lead you two, O lords of animals, increasing [you] with ghee, with  $\bar{a}jya$ . You two will make hostility to him whom we hate, and who hates us.

nayāmi] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, nayā{sa}mi **RM** vāmi] **Or**, tvām **K** paśupatī] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, paśupatīm **Mā** vardhayan] **Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, varddhayan **Ku JM RM Pa** yami] **Ku JM RM Mā K**, yan [**Ma**], ya **Pa** \*dveṣaḥ] veśaḥ **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, deśaḥ **Mā**, veṣaḥ **K** \*kariṣyathaḥ] kariṣyatha **Or**, kariṣyatāḥ **K** ||| **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *veśah* in **d**.

**a**. Note the uncommon occurrence of the verb  $n\bar{\imath}$ - 'to lead', which is never applied to a situation when a mortal would lead a god. Besides maybe having a specific ritual meaning, the verb is probably used here also in opposition to the expression  $vi\ nay\bar{a}masi$ , occurring at the end of the preceding stanza; after having removed the  $yak\bar{\imath}ma$ , the officiant is ready to guide the two gods (to the sacrifice?).

The name *paśupati* 'lord of the cattle' is a common epithet of Rudra; the dual *paśupatī* must refer to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of Rudra himself (cf. 15.16.7a, 8a, 10a).

- **d**. The reading *veśaḥ* of all the Orissa manuscripts (with the exception of **Mā**) means 'neighbour, dependent, vassal' (cf. ŚS 2.32.5 = PS 2.14.3cd *hatāso asya veśáso hatāsaḥ páriveśasaḥ* 'Struck are his neighbours, struck the further neighbours', with Whitney's comment *ad loc*., and the parallel Avestan word *vaēsa* 'servant' mentioned by ZEHNDER 1999: 52).

This reading, although satisfactory in meaning, seems impossible for two reasons; first of all, it is not grammatically correct, because  $v\acute{e}\acute{s}a$ - (also  $ve\acute{s}\acute{a}s$ -) is masculine, and a nominative does not fit here; the preceding genitive, then, is syntactically awkward.

The emendation to \*dveṣas has been proposed by Barret. It is supported by the initial d- of the reading of  $M\bar{a}$  and suggested by the common confusion of the sibilants in the manuscripts. Moreover, dveṣa-(s)- can be neuter, and interpreted as an accusative singular, which fits in the formula dveṣa-(s)- kr- 'make hostility'. Cf. PS 1.3.2d  $apa\ dveṣāmsy\ \bar{a}\ krdhi$  'drive away hostilities'. Cf. also ŚS 3.30.1b = PS 5.19.1b  $avidveṣam\ krnomi\ vah$  'I make for you non-

hostility', ŚS 5.21.1cd vidveṣám káśmaśam bhayám amítreṣu ní dadhmasy 'We put among our enemies mutual hate, fear, confusion', with the use of the root  $dh\bar{a}$ - instead of kr-. This expressions usually requires a dative or a locative, but it is common that the genitive functions as a dative in Vedic (SPEIJER 1886: 96 ff., DELBRÜCK 1888: 162).

#### **15.21.2** [**Anuştubh**] PS only

adhi brūtam paśupatī	#A
dvipade me catuṣpade	A
prasūtau yatra jaghnatus	A
tato me mā param riṣat	A

O you two lords of animals, speak in favour of my biped, in favour of my quadruped. When the two, being requested, have slain, then may what is further of mine not get hurt.

brūtami] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa K**, vṛtami [**Ma**] paśupatī] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **K**, yaśupat{i}ī **Pa**, paśupatimi **Mā** dvipade] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, dvipado **JM RM** prasūtau] **Or**, prasūto **K** jaghnatus] jaghnatas **K** me] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, mo **JM** parami] **K**, tarami **Or** riṣat] **Or**, vṛṣā **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 2 **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *mātaram riṣat* in **d**.

- **ab**. Bhava and Śarva are described as lords of both bipeds and quadrupeds at ŚS 4.28.1–7c = PS 4.37.1–7c yáv asyésāthe dvipádo yáu cátuṣpadas '(you two) who rule over these bipeds [and] quadrupeds'. Cf. also ŚS 11.2.1 = PS 16.104.1 bhávāśarvau mṛḍátaṁ mấbhí yātaṁ bhútapatī páśupatī námo vām / prátihitām áyatāṁ mấ ví srāṣṭam mấ no hiṁsiṣṭaṁ dvipádo mấ cátuṣpadaḥ 'O Bhava and Śarva, be gracious; do not drive against [us]; O lords of beings, O lords of cattle, homage to you! [The arrow] that is fitted, that is thrown, do not let fly; do not harm our bipeds, [do not harm] our quadrupeds.'.
- **d**. The meaning of this pāda is difficult. It is clear that  $m\bar{a}$  goes with  $ri\bar{s}at$  and the whole expression means, 'May it not get hurt'. The reading  $tara\bar{m}$  of the Orissa manuscripts yields little sense, while the reading  $para\bar{m}$  of **K** can possibly be understood as an adjective used as a noun and governing the genitive me, so that the verse would mean, 'May what is further of mine (besides bipeds and quadrupeds) not get hurt'. I prefer this interpretation, although it is far from satisfactory. Alternatively,  $para\bar{m}$  can be connected with tatas, thus forming a common adverbial expression ( $tatas\ para\bar{m}$ ) meaning 'after that'; in this case, however, the word me would be left over.

#### **15.21.3** [**Anuştubh**] PS only, d: cf. 21.5e

yā vām <sup>+</sup> rudrā *śivās *tanūr	A
yā vām sant <sub>i</sub> y <sup>+</sup> arogaṇāḥ	*A
yā vām āyuṣmatīs tanūs	A
tābhir no mṛḍataṁ yuvam	!A

O you (two) Rudras, be you two merciful to us with these forms of yours, which are beneficient, which are not causing disease, which provide long life.

<sup>+</sup>rudrā] rdraḥ **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, rdra **JM RM**, rudrāś **K** \*śivās \*tanūr] śivā tanū **Or K** santy <sup>+</sup>arogaṇāḥ] santi rogaṇāḥ **Or**, santy arogiṇī **K** āyuṣmatīs] **Ku JM Rm** [**Ma**] **Pa**, āyāvāmāyuṣmatīs **Mā**, āyuṣmatī **K** tanūs] **K**, tanus **Or** tābhir no] **Or**, tābhin no **K** mrḍataṁ] **Or**, mrṭaṁ **K** yuvam] yuvaṁ **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yu{·}vaṁ **Ku** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *rudraḥ* in **a** and *santi rogaṇāḥ* in **b**.

**a**. The nominative singular rudrah of **Or** does not fit here. The verb in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural (santi, in **b**) requires a nominative plural, and the form  $tan\bar{u}s$  is attested as a nominative plural also at KauśS 131.2 (cf. AiGr. III, § 98, p. 190). Therefore, I have emended the readings of the mss.  $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}$   $tan\bar{u}$ , which must already have been corrupt in the archetype, to \* $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}s$  \* $tan\bar{u}r$ , and I interpret  $rudr\bar{a}$  as a vocative dual. Cf. PS 14.3.8a  $y\bar{a}$  te rudra  $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}$  tan $\bar{u}r$  'That benign form of yours, Rudra' (in the singular), which could also have been the source of the mistake in our passage (perseveration).

Since the addressees, in the vocative, are Bhava and Śarva, a dual would have been natural also for the mention of their bodies, but it is conceivable that this stanza refers to the various forms and physical aspects that Rudra can assume.

**b**. In the critical apparatus Bhattacharya proposes the reading  $arogan\bar{a}h$ , which I adopt as clearly correct and confirmed by the reading of **K**  $arogin\bar{i}$ .

## 15.21.4 [Prastārapadā] PS only

na praminanti vratino vratāni	+Tb
satyam jinvanto vidathā vadantaḥ	Tb
yasyeme rodasī ubhe	A
saṁyukte manasā hṛdā	A

The ones observing a vow do not violate their vows, furthering truth, announcing distributions of wealth. He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart [...]

minanti] **Or**, mṛḷānti **K** vratino] **Or**, vrajino **K** jinvanto] **Or**, janvanto **K** yasyeme] **K Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yasyeme **JM**, yasyame **RM** rodasī] **Or**, rudasī **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, | **K** 

a. On the expression  $vrat\acute{am/vrat}\acute{a}(ni) + (pra) m\bar{\imath}$ , which is a fixed collocation occurring 16 times in the RV, cf. THIEME 1941: 82–116 = 1971: 7–41, SCHMIDT 1958 and BRERETON 1981: 87. In the PS it also occurs at 5.32.2c yo 'sya +vratam pramināti kaś ca 'Whoever violates his vow', 18.57.5c (= ŚS 18.1.5c = RV 10.10.5c) nakir asya praminanti vratāni 'No one violates his vows', 19.47.5a (= ŚS 19.59.2a = RV 10.2.4a) yad vo vayam pramināma vratāni 'When we violate your vows'. Cf. also the important parallel passage RV 3.28.4cd, in which the verb is found in connection with  $vid\acute{atha}$ :  $\acute{agne}$   $yahv\acute{asya}$   $t\acute{ava}$   $bh\bar{a}gadh\acute{eyam}$   $n\acute{a}$   $pr\acute{a}$  minanti  $vid\acute{athe}$ ; $ud\acute{athe}$ ; $ud\acute{athe}$ ; $ud\acute{athe}$  'O Agni, the wise ones, during the distributions of wealth, do not diminish the portion of yours, the swift one'.

According to my interpretation, the people mentioned in this stanza are the Vrātyas themselves, who are bound by a common vow to the observation of certain rules (cf. FALK 1986: 17 ff.).

**b**. The word *vidátha*- has been discussed by THIEME 1949: 35–49 and by KUIPER 1974: 129–132, who conclusively proves that the meaning of this word is 'distribution', 'distribution of

wealth'. The expression vidátham ( $\bar{a}$ )vad- means 'to announce a vidátha', 'to announce a distribution of wealth', as a manifestation of vitality and prestige of the giver.

cd. These two pādas belong syntactically to the next stanza.

## **15.21.5** [N.N.] PS only, e: cf. 21.3d, fg: PS 5.17.8ef

sa prajānām prajāpatiḥ	A
sādhu rakṣati varṣati	A
sa veda ratnabheṣajam	A
devebhyas par <sub>i</sub> y ābhrtam	*A
tena no mṛḍataṁ yuvam	!A
jīvātave na martave	A
atho ariṣṭatātaye	A

[He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart,] he is the (progeny-)lord of progenies, he protects the right, he rains. He knows the choice medicine brought from the gods. With that let you two be merciful to us, for life, not for death, and for safety.

prajānām] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, prajānā **Mā** prajāpatiḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], prajāpati **Pa K** sādhu] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **K**, sudhu **Mā**, om. **Pa** rakṣati] rakṣati(→tī) **Ku** Mā, rakṣatī **JM RM**, rakṣatī(→ti) [**Ma**], om. **Pa**, varṣati **K** veda] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, deva **Ku** ratnabheṣajam] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ratnabheṣajam **Va**, ratnamheṣajam **Va**, ratnamheṣajam **Va**, ratnamheṣajam **Va**, pariy **RM** mṛḍatam] **Or**, mṛḷātam **K** yuvam] yuvam Z 4 Z **K**, yuvam **Or** martave] **K**, marttave **Or** atho] **K**, tho **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z **K** 

c. For the construction *prajānām prajāpati*-, literally 'progeny-lord of the progenies', see WATKINS 1995: 242 ff = 1997: 216 ff.: "The gentive construction with a compound of *pati*-lord' as in *gaṇānām gáṇapati*- 'throng-lord of throngs' is by no means unique in the Rigveda, though it is clearly somewhat stereotyped and both formally and semantically restricted. [...]. Of the 17 Rigvedic examples of the construction, 10 are in the vocative or accompany a second person pronoun, and of the oldest 8 examples, in the family books, 7 are vocatives or accompany a second person pronoun. All are gods. The construction therefore clearly is originally most at home in the liturgy". The expression *prajānām prajāpati*-, which has not been taken into account by Watkins, occurs two more times in the PS, at 11.1.11ab ā te nayāmi vṛṣaṇam yaḥ prajānām prajāpatiḥ 'I lead here your bull, who is the lord of progenies' and 16.37.2ab indrāgnī asmān rakṣatām yau prajānām prajāpatī 'Let Indra and Agni protect us, the two ones who are the lords of progenies'. Although Watkins states that this construction "is commonest in triṣṭubh lines where it conveniently fills the seven syllables after the caesura", in the PS it occurs only in Anuṣṭubh pādas. In the context of this stanza it refers to Rudra, as is confirmed by the mention of the medicine (*ratnabheṣaja*-, which is an hapax) in pāda **e**. <sup>51</sup>

**ef**. The expression *jīvātave na martave 'tho ariṣṭatātaye* occurs as such at PS 5.17.8ef, and it has been described by LUBOTSKY 2002: 90 as "an AVP variant [...] of the formula RV

heaven and earth are united, rains, rains properly". As I have pointed out above, Rudra is concerned here, not Prajāpati; moreover, the reading of **K** (which has twice *varṣati*) is not correct.

GONDA 1986: 25 quotes four *pādas* from PS 15.21.5, but his interpretation is wrong. He states that "In AVP 15, 21, 5 Prajāpati is even regarded as producing rain alone: 'Prajāpati with mind (*manas*) and heart of whom both

10.60.8de (repeated 9de, 10cd) jīvātave ná mṛtyávé 'tho ariṣṭátātaye, with a nonce form martave". The same expression is indeed attested also at PB 1.5.18. The meaning of atho in this sentence has been discussed by KLEIN 1985: 84, who made very convincing arguments against Geldner's interpretation of the particle in the sense of 'sondern' and against the violation of the pāda structure (Geldner assumes the structure (jīvātave) (ná mṛtyávé | 'tho ariṣṭátātaye) with enjambement). Geldner's solution seems very unlikely, as the opposition between jīvātave and mṛtyáve is clear, there are no other examples of átho in the sense of 'sondern' and the sequence átho ariṣṭátāti- is found in additive conjunction with a preceding term also at RV 10.137.4ab ā tvāgamam śámtātibhir átho ariṣṭátātibhiḥ 'I have come to you with benefits and safeties'.

## **15.21.6** [Anuştubh] PS only

saguņāsa āsate	A7
samiyuktā balāya kam	A
teṣām yad indriyam *brhad	A
ati rocati rocanā	A

Those of matching qualities sit together, united for the sake of the strength. What is the great power of them outshines the stars.

saguṇāsa āsate] **Or**, saguṇāsāsate **K** \*bṛhad] vṛhac **Or K** ati] ati **Or**, aTI **Ku**, ita **K** rocati] **Or**, ROcati **Ku**, rocita **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *vṛhacatirocatirocanā* in **cd**.

- **a**. It is not clear who is the subject of the action, but probably the same persons mentioned in 21.4. This is the earliest attestation of the word *saguṇa*-.
- **b**. Note the occurrence of the same word *samyukta* used in 21.4d, as if the redactor wants to compare the harmony between these men to that of the couple heaven and earth.
- **cd**. In order to have two Anuṣṭubh pādas in **cd**, the first word of the sequence *vṛhacatirocatirocanā* must belong to pāda **c**. I emend the text according to PS 19.48.18a *mayi* tyad indriyam bṛhat 'In me [is] that great power', in which the expression indriyam bṛhan occupies the same position in the verse. The mistake of the manuscripts was probably favoured by the repetition of the same syllables in the sequence (c)ati rocati.
- Cf. ŚS 4.28.1b (≈ PS 4.37.1b) yáyor vām idáṁ pradíśi yád virócate '(Bhava and Śarva), in whose control is what shines forth here'. In the AV, the word *rocaná* 'bright, shining' can mean also 'stars' when used in the neuter plural (cf. ŚS 4.10.2, 6.31.2, 6.75.3, 19.7.1).

#### **15.21.7** [Anustubh] PS only, d: cf. 21.8a

ye te rocane brhatī	#A
antarikșe *adho divaḥ	A
tābhyām upa pra yāhi naḥ	A
sarvavīrām arişyataḥ	A

Your two high stars that are in the intermediate space, below the heaven: from them drive down towards us, who are accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt.

ye te] **Or**, ete **K** bṛhatī] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, bṛhat{i}ī **Pa** \*adho] atho **Or K** divaḥ] **K**, diśaḥ **Or** upa pra yāhi naḥ] **Or**, aprahinas **K** sarvavīrām̈] **Mā [Ma] K**, sarvavīrāṁ **Ku JM RM Pa** ariṣyataḥ] **Or**, ariṣyate **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 6 Z **K** 

## Bhattacharya edits atho in b.

- **b**. On the emendation \*adho, see my comment on 18.4b above.
- **c**. The addressee of the imperative must be Rudra.
- **d**. On *sárvavīra*-, see GONDA 1955b: 56–57, who criticizes the translations of MW 'allheroic, consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes' and the renderings by Whitney-Lanman 'having all heroes', 'preserving heroes', 'with all his heroes', pointing out that, according to original meaning of *sárva* 'undivided, complete, uninjured', the compound must express "the idea of 'with complete, saved men (heroic sons)', i.e. 'with the full number of them safe and sound'".

## **15.21.8** [Anuştubh] PS only, a: cf. 21.7d

sarvavīrā ariṣyanto	+#A
rocane adhi tasthima	A
†yathā nas tṛṣṇamad vasu	A
divi kṣipadbhyo apsu y↠	A

Accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt, we rely on [these] two stars. So that our wealth ... (?) in the sky ... (?) in the waters.

sarvavīrā] **Or**, sarvavīrām **K** arişyanto] **Ku Pa Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, arişyato **JM RM** rocane] **Or**, rocano **K** tasthima] **Or**, tasthimā **K** tṛṣṇamad vasu] **Ku JM RM Pa**, tṛṣṇamad yasu [**Mā**? **Ma**?] tripunavad vasu **K** divi] **Or**, divaḥ **K** kṣipadbhyo] **Pa Mā** [**Ma**], kṣipatbhyo **Ku JM RM**, kṣubhyo **K** apsu] **Or**, psu **K** yā] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], jā **JM RM**,  $\dot{y}$ {u}ā **Pa**, sūryaḥ **K** ||] ||  $\dot{r}$ ? || 21 || **Ku**, ||  $\dot{r}$  || 21 || **JM**, ||  $\dot{r}$  || 21 || **RM**, || 21 ||  $\dot{r}$  || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** Z Z **K** 

# Bhattacharya edits *tṛṣṇamadvasu* in **cd**.

**cd**. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts  $M\bar{a}$  and Ma, according to Bhattacharya's critical apparatus, is uncertain:  $t_r s nama dy a s u$ ? The interpretation of these corrupt pādas is unclear to me. After  $yath\bar{a}$  one would expect a subjunctive, which may be concealed in the sequence  $t_r s nama d (t_r s nava d)$ . The form  $t_r s nama d (t_r s nava d)$ . The form  $t_r s nama d (t_r s nava d)$ . The form  $t_r s nava d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d$  may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from  $t_r s nava d d d$  may be a

#### 15.22. Against hail, for the protection of the crop

PS 15.22–23 belong together as one single composition of 23 connected stanzas split over two hymns of ten and 13 stanzas, respectively.

This hymn, which has no parallel in the Saunakīyasamhitā, deals with a ritual against bad weather, especially against thunderbolts; it is a charm for the protection of the crop, sortable among those hymns, quite common in both recensions of the Atharvaveda, aiming to secure prosperity against various dangers (puşţikarmāni). 52The uniqueness of PS 15.22–23 lies in the fact that, as far as I am aware, it is the only example in all the Vedic corpus of a charm explicitly addressed against hail. It is true that at least two others hymns,  $\pm S 1.13 \approx PS 19.3.4-6$ ,  $\pm 9.53$  and ŚS 7.11 were used in the KauśS (38.8–10) in a ritual which could have been performed against hailstorm. CALAND 1900: 129 had already suggested, on the basis of Dārila's corrupted commentary, that the ritual prescriptions of the KauśS probably were directed to warding off the hail from the crop and that the word aśáni- might mean 'hailstone' rather than 'thunderbolt' in that context. However, if in this case the situation remains ambiguous — because the ŚS hymns quoted by the KauśS mention clearly the thunderbolt and not the hail as a dangerous atmospheric agent, they don't have clear references to the hail and their ritual application against hailstorm could therefore also be considered a later development — there can be little doubts about PS 15.22-23, where the hail is specifically named and described with an amazing realism.

Although a detailed comparative approach falls outside the purpose of this commentary, it should be stressed that spells for the protection of the crop against bad weather and hail are attested in many Indo-European and non-Indo-European linguistic areas. Many common magical features and ritual parallel practices have been studied in order to show how the mechanism of these kind of incantations works. <sup>54</sup> If, on the one hand, the Atharvaveda and its ancillary literature provided much material for comparison, on the other hand the ancient Indian literature seemed to lack completely spells against hail, so well attested in other traditions like the Roman and the Greek ones. <sup>55</sup> This situation has now changed, and in this respect PS 15.22–23 is even more precious and worth studying, since it offers the Indian (and more specifically Atharvavedic) counterpart of a tradition of charms known as φυλακτήρια, κωλυτήρια or κωλύματα, designed to protect who pronounced them from a potential threat — in this case, from hail. It is indeed thanks to the comparison with other traditions that we can understand some difficult and at first sight unintelligible passages of our hymn.

The hymn is closely connected with the preceding one through repetition of several words and similar expressions: cf. 23.11ab *namas te astu vidyute namas te stanayitnave* and 20.8ab *namas te astu vidyute namas te*<sup>+</sup>*stanayitnave* or the couple *dvipad-catuṣpad* in 23.11c, which occurs also in 20.4d and 21.2b. The word *ghṛteṇa* in 22.3c corresponds to *ghṛteṇ[a]* in 21.2b; *vidyotamāna* in 22.6a and *vidyutam* in 22.7a, 8a to *vidyute* in 20.8a; *stanayan* in 22.6a to *stanayitnave* in 20.8a; *dhanvāni* in 22.7d to *dhanur* in 20.7a; *namo* in 22.8c to *namas* in 20.8ac; *mṛḍayāta* in 23.4a to *mṛḍayāko* in 20.5b and *mṛḍatam* in 21.3d, 5e; *aśmabhiḥ* in 23.3b, 4b to

 $<sup>^{52}</sup>$  See, e.g., ŚS  $3.17 \approx$  PS 2.22, ŚS  $3.24 \approx$  PS 5.30, ŚS  $4.15 \approx$  PS 5.7, ŚS  $6.142 \approx$  PS 20.49, ŚS  $7.11 \approx$  PS 20.2.9, ŚS  $7.18 \approx$  PS 20.8.3, 20.4.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Note that ŚS 1.13.1ab  $\approx$  PS 19.3.9ab occur also in our hymn at 15.23.11ab.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> See FERNÁNDEZ NIETO 2010, with exhaustive literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Fehrle 1912, Fiedler 1930, MacCartney 1934.

aśmane in 20.8c; the verbs yāvayāta in 22.3d, yāvayāmasi in 23.3d, 4d and yāvayād in 23.13c to yāvay[a] in 20.1c; nāśayāmasi in 23.8d to the same form in 20.9d and nāśayāmo in 20.10a.

#### **15.22.1** [Anuştubh] PS only

indrāgnī huve prathamau	#A
hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān	A
hvayāmi viśvān devān	A7
imam homam avantu me	A

Indra and Agni I call as first, I call the Maruts, the propitious ones, I call the All-gods. Let them help this oblation of mine.

indrāgnī] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **K**, indrāgn{i}ī **Pa**, indrāṇī **Mā** prathamau] **Or**, prathamo **K** marutaḥ] martaḥ **Or**, māruta **K** śivān] śivām **K**, **Or** viśvān] **JM RM Pa**, viśvā{d}n **Ku**, viśvām **Mā** [**Ma**], viśvā **K** imam] **Or**, imo **K** homam] **Or**, hosam **K** avantu] **K**, atu **Ku**, antu **JM RM**, amtu **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits  $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}\dot{m}$  at the end of **b** and  $vi\dot{s}v\bar{a}\dot{m}$  in **c**.

**bc**. Both in  $\pm iv\bar{a}m$  and  $\pm visv\bar{a}m$  underlining is unnecessary. As regards  $\pm iv\bar{a}m$ , the reading is clear and it is with no doubts an accusative plural, since the use of  $\pm anusv\bar{a}ra$  is a common spelling, both in **K** and **Or**, for the final nasal (especially after a long  $\pm a$ , cf. Griffiths 2009: LVI-LVIII). Then the majority of the Orissa manuscripts read  $\pm visv\bar{a}n$ , and the reading of **Ma** and **Mā** could easily be explained with the same 'spelling-argument'.

The order in which the gods are named is not random but neither is it strictly respected in the following stanzas: Agni is mentioned in all the first five stanzas but Indra only in stanza nine; the All-Gods are nowhere mentioned as Viśvedeva, though a comprehensive list of divinities is found in stanza four, in which Agni is again addressed. The Maruts, then, appear only after this general list of divinities. The order in which the gods are listed in the first stanza reflects their ritual importance, and the hierarchy thus established corresponds to the role they generally play in the sacrifice. The central role of Agni in this field is confirmed by the following two stanzas, in which his supremacy is justified from an ontological point of view.

What it is more significant is how many times these gods are named throughout the hymn and as it is natural in a charm against bad weather, the Maruts, the storm-gods *par excellence*, are mentioned more than the other gods (seven times in total), almost always in connection with atmospheric phaenomena. Frequent references to the Maruts are even more understandable in this hymn because they are closely and specifically connected with hail.

**d**. Note the frequent confusion between -ma- and -sa- in the reading of **K** hosam. The verb avantu is transmitted correctly only in **K**, since all the Orissa manuscripts have lost the middle syllable of the word (see Introduction, p. 12).

#### 15.22.2 [Tristubh] PS only

tuvam prathamo amrtatvam agne	*+Tb
devo devatvam prathamo jigetha	Tb
tava divi hrdayam sam babhūva	+Ta
sa naḥ śivā {āpo} jātavedo ni yacha	+#°Ta

You, O Agni, have won as first immortality, [you have won] as first god the godhead; your heart is joined with the sky. So, O Jātavedas, bring down to us the propitious waters.

amṛtatvam] **Or**, mṛtatvam **K** agne] **Or**, agni **K** devatvam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, de{t}va{m}tvam **JM** jigetha] **Or**, jigethaḥ **K** tava] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ta **Pa** divi] **Ku JM RM Pa K**, di **Mā** [**Ma**] sa] **Or**, ma **K** śivā āpo] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, śiva āpo **JM RM**, śivāpo **K** yacha] **Or**, yaścha **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 2 Z **K** 

- **ab**. This stanza is linked to the preceding one through the repetition of the word *prathama* in the first two pādas (anaphora), which stresses the priority of Agni among the other gods. On the idea of the gods attaining immortality, cf. RV 3.60.2d *téna devatvám rbhavaḥ sám ānaśa* 'With this, O Rbhus, you attained the godhead', RV 10.53.10d *yéna deváso amrtatvám ānaśúḥ* 'With which the gods attained immortality' and PS 2.73.1b *yenāgre devā amrtatvam āyan* 'With which the gods in the beginning reached immortality', PB 22.11.2<sup>p</sup> *etena vai devā devatvam agacchan* 'With that indeed the gods obtained the godhead'.
- **c**. The construction of the verb  $s\acute{a}mbh\bar{u}$  with locative is rare; it is found, e.g., at ŚS 12.3.51a = PS 17.41.1a  $es\acute{a}$   $tvac\acute{a}m$   $p\acute{u}ruse$   $s\acute{a}m$   $babh\bar{u}va$  'That one among the skins is united with the man'.
- **d**. This verse has thirteen syllables, with an early caesura and a Triṣṭubh cadence. The more proabable solution for restoring the metre of this pāda is to consider the word  $\bar{a}po$  an interpolation, a gloss that explained the word  $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}$  and later found its way into the text. A possible source for this interpolation could be PS 8.8.11a =  $\dot{S}S$  19.2.5a  $t\dot{a}$   $ap\dot{a}h\dot{s}iv\dot{a}$   $ap\dot{o}$  (which is a problematic verse as well, see WHITNEY 1905: 900). If we admit that  $\bar{a}po$  is an interpolation, there are two possible explanations for this nominative form: either " $\dot{s}iv\bar{a}(h)$ : (This are) the waters" is meant (as a gloss), or an accusative is intended and the gloss thus attests the use of the nominative plural  $\dot{a}pas$  as an accusative plural. This use is already attested six times in the RV (mandalas I and X, the latest additions) and sixteen times in the AV; it is also found in the PS (besides our passage, cf. PS 5.7.10b). See AiGr. III, § 25, p. 61 and § 131, p. 240.

# **15.22.3** [**Triṣṭubh**] PS 12.18.1, ab: ŚS 4.39.9ab agnāv agnir ity ekā

agnāv agnir ity ekā] **RM Pa Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, agnāv a{ri}gnir ity ekā **Ku**, agnāv agnir ity eka **JM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

#### PS 12.18.1

agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭa	T1
rṣīṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ	Tb
tasmai juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena	Tb
mā devānām yūyavad bhāgadheyam	Ta

Agni, the son of the Rsis, that sovereign king, moves around having entered into the fire. To him I sacrifice with an oblation, with ghee: let the portion of the gods not be removed.

**a**. All the manuscripts read  $agn\bar{a}v$  agnir ity  $ek\bar{a}$ . On this type of abbreviations in the manuscripts, cf. p. 29–30. The stanza is repeated from PS 12.18.1 and occurs further at PS

20.45.9. Discussing the relation between gods and powers, GONDA (1957a: 68) observes, "The divinity and the element are distinguished in such a way that the former is described as having 'entered' into the latter: AV 4,39,9 'Agni is continually to be found in the fire' (agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭaḥ; more 'literally': 'Agni continues having entered into the fire')".

c. The expression *tasmai juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena* is common in the PS, and besides the two passages just mentioned is attested, with variants, at PS 2.52.1c *tebhyo juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena*, PS 2.61.2d *yasmai carāmi haviṣā ghṛtena*, and PS 16.99.4d *tābhyo juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena*. I translate *haviṣā ghṛtena* 'with an oblation, with ghee', according to the traditional interpretation of *ghṛtena* as a specification of *haviṣā*. An alternative interpretation has been proposed by OLSEN 2011, who suggests that in this and other cases *ghṛtá*- might have an adjectival/participial function in the sense of 'sprinkled', and that the phrase *haviṣā ghṛtena* could be rendered 'with a sprinkled oblation', concluding (p. 175) that "in any case contexts like this illustrate the potentially fluid borderline between noun and verbal adjective, ghee being the (sprinkled) libation par excellence".

#### ŚS 4.39.9

agnáv agnís carati právista rṣīṇām putró abhisastipá u | namaskāreṇa námasā te juhomi má devánām mithuyá karma bhāgám ||

#### **15.22.4** [**Tristubh**] PS only, ab: cf. PS 1.14.3ab

ye devā divi <sup>+</sup> ṣṭha ye pṛthivyām	+#T3
jātavedo ya urāv antarikṣe	+Ta
ye girişu parvateşv aps <sub>u</sub> v antas	*+Ta
te devā aśanim yāvayātha	Т3

O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the wide atmosphere, O Jātavedas; who are in the mountains, in the rocks, in the waters: O gods, you will keep the thunderbolt away!

†ṣṭha] ṣṭa **Or**, ṣṭhā **K** pṛthivyām] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], **K**, pṛthiVYĀM **Ku**, pṛthivyā **Pa** ya] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, yan **Mā** urāv] **Ku RM Pa** [**Ma**], uttarāv **JM**, ttarāv **Mā**, udāv **K** antarikṣe] **Or**, amtarikṣa **K** ye] **Or**, yad **K** giriṣu] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, giṣu **JM** apsv antas] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, āpsantas **Ku**, apsantas **Pa** devā aśanim] **Or**, devāśane **K** yāvayātha] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

ad. Pādas a and d are two catalectic Triṣṭubh lines with a trisyllabic opening followed by a trisyllabic break (a creticus in pāda a, an anapest in pāda d). The metre of these two pādas could be easily regularized by reading  $dev_a\bar{a}$  before the caesura in both cases. Cf. also 15.20.1c above.

The Viśvedevas addressed in the first stanza of the hymn are here invoked again in this general list of deities. The gods are grouped according to the traditional partition of their abodes. Cf. RV 1.108.11ab yád indrāgnī diví ṣṭhó yát pṛthivyām yát párvateṣv óṣadhīṣv apsú 'If, O Indra and Agni, you are in the sky, if you [are] on earth, if you [are] in the rocks, in the herbs, in the waters', RV 5.60.6ab yád uttamé maruto madhyamé vā yád vāvamé subhagāso diví ṣṭhá 'If, O wealthy Maruts, you are in the higest, or in the midmost, or in the lowest sky', RV 6.52.13ab víśve devāḥ śṛṇutémám hávam me yé antárikṣe yá úpa dyávi ṣṭhá 'O All-Gods, listen to this invocation of mine, you who are in the atmosphere, who are above the sky'. Cf. also the

very similar passage PS 1.14.3ab: *ye devā divi ṣṭha ye pṛthivyām | ye antarikṣa oṣadhīṣv apsu* 'O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the atmosphere, in the herbs, in the waters'.

# **15.22.5** [**Tristubh**] PS only

mitram digbhiḥ kṛṇuṣva jātaveda	+#Ta
āśābhir mitram adhipā vipaścit	Tb
mā no himsīr divyenāgninā *sasyam	(+#)Ta
yena yanti maruta spardhamānāḥ	+Ta

Make an alliance with the quarters, O Jātavedas, an alliance with the regions, O wise king. Do not harm our crop with the celestial fire, with which the Maruts keep competing.

mitram | Or, mittram | K digbhiḥ | Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, digbhyaḥ JM, digbhyaḥ K jātaveda | Or, jātavedā | K mitram | Or, mittram | K vipaścit | Or, vipaśyat K himsīr | Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, himsir JM, himsī K \*sasyam yena | sasyām yena | Ku Mā [Ma], sasyām jena JM RM, sasyā yena Pa, sasyena K yanti | Or, yantu K maruta | K, marta Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, ma{·}rta RM spardhamānāḥ Mā [Ma], sparddhamānāḥ | Ku JM RM, spaddhi(→rddha)mānāḥ Pa, spardhamānā | K | || Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 5 Z K

#### Bhattacharya edits sasyām in c.

c. The sequence short-long-long-anceps is very rare in a Tristubh cadence (0,12% out of the total in the RV, see VAN NOOTEN-HOLLAND 1994: XVII). A similar case with strange measuring of  $agnin\bar{a}$  is found at SS 11.2.26b = PS 16.106.6c  $m\dot{a}$  nah sam  $sr\bar{a}$   $div_iy\acute{e}n\bar{a}_agnin\bar{a}$  'Do not hit us with the celestial fire'.

The reading sasyām is impossible, since sasyá- 'crop' is only neuter. **K** reads sasyena, which does not help because this univerbation shows a graphical omission of (part of) an akṣara at the end of the word sasya-. The only correct transmitted reading is that of **Pa**, sasyā, which could be interpreted as an archaic neuter plural. I prefer the emendation to sasyam because the form sasyā is actually never attested, while sasyam occurs twice within this same hymn, at PS 15.23.2e sasyam me mā vadhīd iti 'May it not destroy my crop' and 15.23.10d idam \*sasyam upā cara 'Come near to this crop'. The emendation is suggested also by ŚS 7.11.1cd mā no vadhīr vidyūtā deva sasyām | mótā vadhī raśmībhih sūryasya 'O god, do not destroy our crop with the lightning and do not destroy [it] with the beams of the sun', where the lightning and the sunbeams are again concerned.

**d**. The same combination of the verb i- with the participle  $spardham\bar{a}na$ - is found at ŚS 3.2.6ab = PS 3.5.6ab asáu  $y\acute{a}$   $s\acute{e}n\bar{a}$   $maruta\dot{n}$   $p\acute{a}res\ddot{a}m$  |  $asm\acute{a}n$   $\acute{a}ity$  abhy  $\acute{o}jas\bar{a}$   $sp\acute{a}rdham\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  'O Maruts, that army of [our] adversaries over there, that keeps competing against us with power'. The interpretation of this verse is dubious: the idea could be that the Maruts, with their lightnings, compete with the celestial fire, viz. the sun. For the association of the Maruts with lightnings, cf. the epithet  $rst\acute{v}idyut$ - 'having lightnings as spears' applied to them at RV 1.168.5a.

#### 15.22.6 [Anuştubh] PS only

vidyotamāna stanayan	#A
vṛṣevaiṣi kanikradat	A
bhīmaḥ parjanya te rathaḥ	A

Flashing, thundering, you advance like a neighing stallion. Fearsome is your chariot, O Parjanya. So let it grant us protection.

stanayan] K, stanaya Or bhīmaḥ] Ku Mā [Ma], abhīmaḥ JM, bhīmaṁ RM, bhī{va}maḥ Pa, bhīmaḥ K parjanya] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, paryanya Mā rathaḥ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, rath{e}aḥ JM, rathaś K sa u] Or, śa u K naḥ śarma] Or, naś śa K yachatu] Or, yaśchatu K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 6 Z K

**b**. An alternative translation would be 'You keep neighing like a stallion'.

On the intensive *kanikradat*, see SCHAEFER 1994: 109–110. Cf. RV 9.28.4a *eṣá vṛṣā kánikradat* 'This neighing stallion'.

c. For Parjanya's chariot, cf. cf. RV 5.83.7ab *abhí kranda stanáya gárbham á dhā* | *udanvátā pári dīyā ráthena* 'Roar out, thunder, place the embryo. Fly around with your chariot abounding in water'.

#### **15.22.7** [**Purastādbṛhatī**] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.8a

ye vidyutam aśanim ātanvanti	+#Ta
marutaḥ salilād adhi	A
kṛṣyai no viśvavārāyā	+#A
ava dhanvāni tanvatām	A

Let the Maruts who stretch (as a bow) the lightning [and] the thunderbolt from the ocean (the salty one) loosen [their] bows for the sake of our all-beneficient agriculture.

ye] **Or**, yo **K** vidyutam] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vidyutam **Ku**?, vidvatam **K** marutaḥ] martaḥ **Or**, marutas **K** kṛṣyai] **Or**, kṛṣim **K** viśvavārāyā ava] **Or**, viśvavārāyāva **K** dhanvāni] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dhanvā{vi}→ni **JM**, danvāni **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits *avadhanvā ni tanvatām* in **d**, but the reason of underlying is unclear, being perhaps only due to a wrong division of the words.

**a.** Note that at the beginning of the pāda **K** reads *yo* (cf. my note at PS 15.22.8a below). This Triṣṭubh line is probably not original and one of the two objects of the action — *vidyutam* or *aśanim* — may be a secondary interpolation not belonging to an old stage of transmission, triggered from the first pāda of the next stanza.

The verb  $\bar{a}tan$ - is used in its technical meaning 'to stretch [a bow for shooting]', since the Maruts are represented while shooting the lightnings with their bows.

- **b**. The heavenly waters are meant.
- c. On the epithet  $vi\acute{s}v\acute{a}v\bar{a}ra$  'all-beneficient, bestowing all treasures', see GONDA 1959: 115, 119 and 139. This adjective occurs often in the  $^{R}V$  (35×), and it qualifies almost exclusively the gods, a property or possession ( $ray\acute{t}$ -); once it refers also to the chariot (6.37.1a), once to the sacrificial ladle (5.28.1c), etc. In the ŚS it is attested only eight times in similar contexts and in all these passages  $vi\acute{s}v\acute{a}v\bar{a}ra$  has a general meaning, pointing to abundance of wealth that is not further specified. In this PS passage, however, it may have a very concrete meaning, referring primarly to the fruits of the soil (which will eventually bring wealth as well).

# **15.22.8** [N.N.] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.7a

ye vidyutam aśanim pātayant <sub>i</sub> y	*Ta
antarikṣād uta vātād divaś ca	Ta
tebhyo marudbhyo namo ast <sub>u</sub> v ojase	*Jb

The ones who make the lightning, the thunderbolt fly from the intermediate space and from the wind and the sky: homage be to the Maruts, to strength!

ye] **Ku JM RM Pa K**, yo **Mā** [**Ma**]? aśanim] **Or**, aśanam **K** pātayanty] **K**, ātamty **Ku Pa Mā** [**Ma**], ātanty **JM**, ātanvanty **RM** vātād divaś] **Pa**, pātādviva(→pa?)ś **Ku**, pātāvivaś **JM RM**, pātādvivaś **Mā** [**Ma**], vātādivaś **K** marudbhyo] mardbhyo **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], martbhyo **JM RM Pa**, grdbhyo **K** astv] **RM**, stv **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits yo vidyutam asanim ātamty in a.

- **a**. The Orissa manuscripts  $M\bar{a}$  and Ma, by reading yo, show here the same mistake made by K at the beginning of PS 15.22.7a, but the subject of the action is clearly the Maruts, so that in both cases we must read ye, according to the reading of all the other manuscripts. At the end of the pāda, K has probably preserved the original reading, which I adopt in the text. A similar syntagma is found at ŚS 11.2.26c  $\approx$  PS 16.106.6d *anyátrāsmád vidyútam pātayaitām* 'Make that lightning fly elsewhere than on us'.
- **d**. Note that **RM** is the only manuscript that does not apply *abhinihita* sandhi between *namo* and *astv*, as required by the metre.

## **15.22.9** [Anuştubh] PS only; c: PS 15.23.12f

tā yantu s <sub>u</sub> varaṁkr̥tāḥ	*A
syonāḥ śivatamāḥ pathā	A
mā na indra yavam vadhīr	A
mitram enena kṛṇmahe	A

Let them go over the path well-adorned, gentle, very propitious. O Indra, do not destroy our barley. We make an alliance through this [spell].

yantu] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ayantu **Mā**, yanti **K** svaramkṛtāḥ] **Or**, svaramkṛtā **K** syonāḥ] **Or**, syonāś **K** śivatamāḥ] **Or**, śivatamāḥ **K** pathā] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, pathāḥ **JM RM** mā] **Or**, sā **K** na] **Or**, nā **K** yavam] **Or**, imam **K** vadhīr] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], vadhīrm **Pa**, vadhī **RM K** mitram] **Or**, mittram **K** kṛṇmahe] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, kṛṭṇḥmahe **Ku** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 9 Z **K** 

**ab**. At the beginning of pāda **a**, all the manuscripts read  $t\bar{a}$ . As suggested by Zehnder (*per litteras*, November 2012), the subjects of the action could be the lightnings, which are set in motion by the Maruts (cf. pādas **ab** of the two preceding stanzas). For the idea of lightnings that are going, cf. RV 9.41.3c *cáranti vidyúto diví* 'Lightnings are moving around in the sky'. The adjective *svarankṛta*- 'well-arranged', 'well-prepared', 'well-adorned' (past passive participle of *áram kṛ* 'arrange, prepare' with *su*- 'well') is attested at RV 1.162.5c, in which it refers to the sacrifice and at SS 10.1.25a = PS 16.37.5a, in which it refers to  $kṛty\bar{a}$  (f.) 'witchcraft'. In this case, with reference to the lightnings, it may mean 'shaped in a form, that

they will not harm our crop (*vel sim*.)'. Another possibility would be to emend  $t\bar{a}$  in \*te and take as subject the Maruts, whose paths in the sky are often mentioned, along with their decoration, garlands and other ornaments, but this seems a too heavy and unnecessary emendation (moreover, the Maruts can hardly be called 'well-arranged'.) In order to avoid the presence of sa/ta pronoun at the beginning of a line, which is strange, one can think of another verbal form, e.g.  $g\bar{a}yantu$  (cf. PS 5.7.5a  $gan\bar{a}s$  tvopa  $g\bar{a}yantu$  mārutāh 'Let the troops of the Maruts sing to you'). The whole would then mean: 'Let them (the Maruts) sing well-prepared, gentle, propitious [songs] on their way'.

### **15.22.10** [N.N.] PS only, ab: PS 7.7.1ab

darbho agra oṣadhīnāṁ	+A
śatakāṇḍo ajāyata	A
sa devaiḥ prahito (')yam āgan svastaye	N.N.
vṛṣā mṛdbhiḥ saha <sup>+</sup> saṁvidānaḥ	T1

The *darbha* grass, hundred-jointed, was born at the head of the herbs. So this one, sent by the gods, has come for well-being, the bull, joined together with lumps of clay.

agra] **Or**, gra **K** śatakāṇḍo] **Or**, śakāṇḍo **K** devaiḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, daivaiḥ **JM**, devaiḥ **K** prahito] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, {tr̞}prahito **Ku** āgan] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], āgana **Ku Pa**, āgaṁ **K** svastaye] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, svasteye **JM** mṛdbhiḥ] **K**, maṛdbhiḥ **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], maṛtbhiḥ **Pa**, mabhiḥ **JM RM** saha] **Or**, maha **K** \*saṁvidānaḥ] samvidānaḥ **Or**, saṁvidhānaḥ **K** ||] | r | 22 || **Ku**, || r 9 || 22 || **JM**, | r | 22 || **RM**, || 22 || r || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 10 Z **K** 

# PS 7.7.1 darbho agra oṣadhīnām śatakāṇḍo ajāyata |

sa sahasravīryaḥ pari ṇaḥ pātu viśvataḥ ||

### Bhattacharya edits marudbhir in d.

- **ab**. For the analysis of these two pādas, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 317–8. Cf. also ŚS 19.32.1 = PS 11.12.1 śatákāṇḍo duścyavanáḥ sahásraparṇa uttiráḥ / darbhó yá ugrá óṣadhis tám te badhnāmy ấyuṣe 'Hundred-jointed, difficult to be felled, having thousand leaves, uplifting (?); the darbha grass that is a fearsome herb, that I bind on you for longevity'. On the idea of the supremacy of the darbha grass among other herbs, cf. PS 1.87.1a tvam darbhāsi patir oṣadhīnām 'O darbha, you are the lord of the herbs'.
- c. The metrical analysis of this pāda is problematic. In all probability,  $s_uvastaye$  has four syllables, so we get an Anuṣṭubh-pāda in the second half:  $ayam \bar{a}gan s_uvastaye$ . The first three words are comparable to PS 1.95.4a (= PS 3.10.3a)  $y\bar{a}$  devaiḥ prahiteṣuḥ patāt, which is metrically problematic as well (no caesura after 4 or 5 syllables). A similar pāda is PS 11.11.4a agnir no dūtaḥ prahito (')yam āgan, seemingly a Triṣṭubh pāda with prahito in the break.
- **d**. The reading *marudbhir* of the Orissa manuscripts is better for the metre but, in my opinion, is the *lectio facilior* compared to the reading of **K** *mṛdbhiḥ* 'with lumps of clay'. Clods of clay or earth were used in ceremonial purifications, because they were believed to dispel evil and have beneficial powers, and are also often related to (medicinal) plants (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 88).

#### 15.23. Against hail, for the protection of the crop (continued)

# **15.23.1** [**N.N.**] PS only

vṛṣākṣasyāsurasya menir asi	N.N.
tāṁ *tvā tathā veda	N.N.
†karṇasya kauvidasyevamāśā†	N.N.
tām mābhy ava gā dvādaśāhnāni vi rakṣe	N.N.

You are the *mení*-power of the bull-eyed *asura*. I know you thus as such ... (?). Do not go down to it (f.), I protect the periods of twelve days (?).

vṛṣākṣasyāsurasya] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vṛṣakṣasyāsurasya Mā, vṛṣākhyasyāsurasya **K** tāṁ \*tvā] tāṁ tvayā **Ku Mā** [**Ma**], tāṁ tvayā **RM Pa**, tā tvayā **JM**, tānvā **K** veda] **Ku RM K** [**Ma**], vedi (→da) Mā, vedi **JM Pa** karṇasya] **Or**, katamasya **K** kauvidasyeva] **Or**, kovidasyova **K** māṣā] māṣā **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, māṣāḥ **RM**, māṣāt **K** mābhy ava gā] **Ku [Ma] Pa**, mābhy ava ṣā Mā, mābhy agā{syā} **JM**, tvāmābhy ava gā **RM**, nābhy amakāna **K** dvādaṣāhnāni] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dvādaṣāhnoni **JM**, dvādaṣāhnani **K** vi rakṣe] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vi rakṣase **JM**, vṛkṣaye **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K** 

# Bhattacharya edits $tvay\bar{a}$ in **b**.

- **a.** The compound  $v_r \circ \bar{a} k \circ a$  'bull-eyed' links this stanza with the preceding one, where the *darbha* grass is compared to a bull ( $v_r \circ a$ -). The word *mení* has been discussed at length by Jamison 1996, Griffiths 2009: 145–46, and Ronzitti 2006: 150–163 (see also Hoffmann 1975: 56–57). It indicates "the power or embodiment of negative exchange, of thwarted exchange. It is the dangerous force that is created when the standard system of tit-for-tat is interfered with. The threat of it enforces behavior in exchange relations, and when released, it can become the vehicle of requital for violations of these same relations" (Jamison 1996: 193).
- **b**. I decide to slightly emend the text and read  $t\bar{a}\dot{m}$  \* $tv\bar{a}$  tath $\bar{a}$  veda 'I know you (scil. the *menî*) thus', for which cf. PS 3.30.4b tam  $tv\bar{a}$  svapna tath $\bar{a}$  vidma 'We know you thus as such, O sleep/dream' and PS 20.59.7ab agner hrdayam asi vidyut  $^+$ tat  $tv\bar{a}$  tath $\bar{a}$  veda 'You are the heart of Agni. That lightning knows you thus'.

Note also that the reading of **K**  $t\bar{a}nv\bar{a}$  is quite near to  $t\bar{a}\dot{m}$  \* $tv\bar{a}$ .

- **c**. The readings of this verse are obscure. The first word, karna-, means 'ear' or 'having long ears, furnished with chaff (as grain)'. If we assume the meaning 'having long ears', the epithet could refer to the *asura* mentioned in pāda **a**. The word kauvida- looks like the vrddhi formation of kovida- 'skilled, learned in'. At the end of the verse there are various possibilities, but I would suggest to read masa- 'months' (a form of masa- 'bean' seems less probable).
- d. Cf. PS 8.19.8ab daśarātreṇa sammito dvādaśāhena kalpate 'Dem Daśarātra-Opfer entsprechend richtet sich [der Ziegenbock] nach dem Dvādaśāha-Opfer' (KIM forthc.) and PS 14.6.4ab śataudanā dvādaśāhena sammitā śatam pṛṣṭhāni sasṛje svaryatī 'The heaven-going śataudanā-cow emitted one hundred pṛṣṭha-sāmans, measured out in twelve-days' (Lopez). The mention of periods of twelve days could refer to the dvādaśa ritual, which, as pointed out by LOPEZ 2010: 188, "is the basic paradigm of a sattra, a soma sacrifice that lasts at least 12 days. All the performers of the sattra must be consecrated Brahmans".

#### **15.23.2** [**Pankti**] PS only

asir me \*tigmah \*svāyasa

indrāgnibhyām <sup>+</sup> susamsitaḥ	A
tena sedhāmi *hrādunim	#A
kṛṣim me māva gād iti	A
sasyam me mā vadhīd iti	A

My knife is sharp, made of good metal, well sharpened by Indra and Agni. With that I ward off the hail [with the intention]: may [the hail] not go down to my field, may [the hail] not destroy my crop.

asir me] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], asirm me Pa, asṛnme K \*tigmaḥ \*svāyasa] tigmasyāyasa Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, tigmasyāyamsa JM tigmasyāhatam K indrāgnibhyām] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, indrāgnībhyām RM \*susamsitaḥ] susamsita Or, suśamsataḥ K sedhāmi] Mā [Ma] Pa, sehāmi Ku JM sehami RM?, sedāma K \*hrādunim] hādunim Ku JM RM, dādunim Mā [Ma] Pa, yudāditi K kṛṣim] Or, kṛṣin K māva gād] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, māva śād Mā, mā vadīr K sasyam] Or, śasyan K vadhīd] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, vadhrīd JM, vadīr K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 2 Z K

Bhattacharya edits *tig<u>masyā</u>yasa* in **a** and *dādunim* in **c**.

a. Bhattacharya suggests in the critical apparatus the reading *tigmaḥ svāyasaḥ*, which I adopt in the text for several reasons (on the sandhi, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXVIII). First of all, one could interpret the sequence *tigmasyāyasa* as *tigmasya* + *ayasa[ḥ]*, and translate 'my knife is of sharp metal', but a genitive here is syntactically awkward (the genitive of material does not occur at all in Vedic, and is rare even in later Sanskrit). Then one has to consider that the confusion between -*sy*- and -*sv*- is a common mistake, both in **K** and **Or**. Finally, the adjective *svāyasa*- 'of good metal', refers to *asi*- also at ŚS 10.1.20a = PS 16.36.10a *svāyasā asáyaḥ santi no gṛhé* 'In our house there are knives of good metal'.

On the word *así*-, see THIEME 1958: 514f. In the RV, this word is attested four times (only in the latest portions, at 1.162.20, 10.79.6, 10.86.18, 10.89.8) and it always denotes a 'knife for cutting up slaughtered animals', a 'knife for severing the joints'; here, as well as in other passages of the PS (e.g. 5.15.9c, 6.23.10d = 19.47.8a), it seems to mean simply 'knife', without involving the idea of cutting the flesh of a victim nor the presence of sacrificial animals. In this stanza, however, the knife — whose sharpness is particularly emphasized — is certainly used in a ritual context; in my opinion, in a ritual against hail, it had the specific function of "cutting" the hail cloud, in order to destroy it and prevent hail from falling down. The same practice of cutting hail clouds by means of an axe, hoe or knife has been recorded in rituals against hailstorms in the Slavic tradition (in north-western Serbia, for example, a *gradobranitelj* 'hail defender' is a man who can avert hailstorms performing various magical practices, including weaving a knife against a hail cloud, or placing it on the ground with the blade turned towards the cloud).

- **b**. The readings of the manuscripts *susamsita* (**Or**) and *suśamsataḥ* (**K**) attest again the frequent confusion of the sibilants, especially in the context before i/y (see my note at 12.2d).
- c. Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus the reading  $ud\bar{a}duri\dot{m}$ , which is not really clear (should it be interpreted as  $ud + \bar{a}duri$  'attentive', 'destroyer (of enemies)'?). The emendation to \* $hr\bar{a}duni\dot{m}$ , which suits perfectly the context (see the preceding note), sheds light on the whole hymn and is confirmed by the content of the following stanzas, has been suggested to me by Lubotsky (March 2011). The word  $hr\bar{a}d\acute{u}ni$  is already attested twice in the RV, one time as a separate word and one time as first member of a compound. At RV 1.32.13ab  $\approx$  PS

12.13.3ab the hail is mentioned together with other athmospheric agents used by Vrtra in the battle against Indra: nāsmai vidyún ná tanyatúḥ siṣedha ná yắm míham ákirad dhrādúnim ca 'Nicht furchtete ihm Blitz und Donner, nicht Nebel und Hagel, den er ausstreute' (Geldner); at RV 5.54.3c the compound hrādunīvrt- 'covered or hidden by hail', 'whirling the hail' refers to the Maruts, and is again associated with lightning, winds and storm: vidyúnmahaso náro áśmadidyavo vātatviṣo marútaḥ parvatacyútaḥ | abdayá cin múhur á hrādunīvrta stanáyadamā rabhasá údojasaḥ 'Die blitzstrahlenden Männer mit den Steingeschossen, heftig wie der Wind, Berge erschütternd, die Marut, die, obwohl sie Wasser geben wollen, im nu Hagel herbeirollen, von donnernder Wucht, wild, kraftgehoben' (Geldner). The word is never attested in the ŚS; in the PS, besides this passage and 12.13.3b quoted above, it occurs in the plural at 11.16.8a ugrā vai nāmaitā āpo yad 'dhrādunayas tāsām maruto adhipatayaḥ 'Mighty indeed are those waters by name; the Maruts are overlords of them, which are hails'.

It is then attested three times in the MS, once as first member of a compound, at 3.6.10: 74.2 (*hrādúnihatā*-), and twice as separate word, at MS 3.15.8:180.2 and MS 4.4.1:51.1.

Strong evidence supports the correctness of this emendation. First of all, three manuscripts, namely  $\mathbf{Ku}$ ,  $\mathbf{JM}$  and  $\mathbf{RM}$  point to an initial h-; these three Orissa manuscripts represent the "central Orissa" tradition, which has often preserved a better text in comparison with the "northern Orissa" tradition, to which Bhattacharya's collation is here limited.

Furthermore, the initial cluster hr- is often simplified or misunderstood in the Orissa manuscripts, e.g. at PS 5.7.13c (in which instead of hradasya, two manuscripts from Orissa read drudasva and  $bh_r dasva$ , and in all occurrences of the word for 'hail' (besides 15.23.2c, cf. PS 11.16.8a, where the initial  $hr\bar{a}$ - of 'hail' is written  $vr\bar{a}$ - in all the Orissa manuscripts, and PS 12.13.3b, where the word is written with initial  $dr\bar{a}$ -). This could also suggest that the word  $hr\bar{a}duni$ - was not familiar to the redactors of the PS.

Evidence of content is even more convincing, as it becomes clear in the next stanzas.

#### 15.23.3 [N.N.] PS only, cf. PS 15.23.4

marutaḥ pari vṛṅdhi no	A
divaḥ kṣudrebhir *aśmabhiḥ	A
udumbarasya śākhayā cakṣuṣā-	Tb
-aśanim yāvayāmasi	A

O Maruts, spare (sg.) us with the little stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with the sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.

marutaḥ] martaḥ **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**], mar{to}taḥ **Pa**, marta **RM**, marataḥ **K** pari vrndhi no] **Or**, pravrghno **K** divaḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, diva **JM** kṣudrebhir \*aśmabhiḥ] kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, kṣudr(+e)bhiraśmibhiḥ **Pa** cakṣuṣāśanim **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, vicakṣuṣāśanim **JM RM**, (+vi)cakṣuṣāsa(→śa)nim **Ku**, cakṣuṣāśanam **K** yāvayāmasi] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 3 Z **K** 

Bhattacharya edits  $k sudrebhira \underline{smi}bhih$  in **b** (but in the critical apparatus he proposes the reading  $a \underline{smabhih}$ ).

**a**. The  $2^{nd}$  singular is no doubt wrong here, because the addressee of the imperative is plural. It is probably due to perseveration from PS 12.1.10d = PS 5.21.6d  $t\bar{a}bhi$  sma pari vṛṅdhi naḥ

'Spare us with them'. The plural form of this imperative, still addressed to the Maruts, is attested at RV 1.172.3b *pári vṛṅkta*.

- **b**. The mistake of the reading *kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ* in all the manuscripts was probably due to the interpretation of the sequence as *kṣudrebhi raśmibhiḥ* (from *raśmi* 'string', 'rope', 'ray of light'). The 'little stones of the sky', just as the 'white stones of the sky' mentioned in the next stanza, are obviously the hailstones.
- c. Cakṣus- and vicakṣus- (23.4c) are two difficult words, which probably had a technical meaning in the rite. The two synonymous words cakṣas- and vicakṣas- are found together in a formula at MS 1.5.11:80.11–13 (cf. ĀpŚS 6.19.1): dhármo mā dhármaṇaḥ pātu vídharmo mā vídharmaṇaḥ patváyuśca práyuśca cákṣaś ca vicákṣaś ca prấn cấpān coruká íty 'Die Ordnung soll mich von der Ordnungsstütze her schützen. Der Verteiler soll mich von der Verteilung her schützen. Die Lebenszeit und die lange Lebenszeit, der Blick und der scharfe Blick, das vorwärts gehende und das rückwärts gehende Räumchen' (AMANO 2009: 200; CALAND 1921: 203 translates the two words as 'meine Sehkraft' and 'meine scharfe Sehkraft', but admits that "die Deutung der Sprüche ist schwierig").

#### **15.23.4** [Brhatī] PS only, cf. PS 15.23.3

maruto *mṛḍayata no	!A
divaḥ śukrebhir aśmabhiḥ	A
udumbarasya śākhayā vicakṣuṣā-	Ja
-aśanim yāvayāmasi	A

O Maruts, be merciful to us with the white stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with a clear sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.

maruto] **K**, marto **Or** \*mrdayata] mrdayāta **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, mrda(+yā)ta **JM**, mrlayāti **K** divaḥ] **Or**, divaś **K** śukrebhir aśmabhiḥ] **K**, śukrebhiraśmibhiḥ **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], śukr(+e)bhiraśmibhiḥ **Pa** vicakṣuṣāśanim] **Or**, vicakṣuṣāśanam **K** yāvayāmasi] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 4 Z **K** 

Bhattacarya edits  $\acute{s}ukrebhira\acute{s}mibhi\rlap/h$  in **b** (but in the critical apparatus he keeps proposing the reading  $a\acute{s}mabhi\rlap/h$ ).

- a. Note the unusual lengthening in the reading *mṛḍayāta* of **Or**. **K** has a subjunctive form, but it does not fit syntactically. The form of the Orissa manuscript cannot be correct, and an emendation to \**mṛḍayata* seems the best solution, although other emendations are possible (e.g. to \**mṛḍayātha*, 2<sup>nd</sup> plural subjunctive; I prefer the imperative as the same mood is found in the parallel pāda 23.3a above). A similar phrase occurs at PS 2.70.4c *devā maruto mṛḷata naḥ* 'O gods Maruts, be merciful to us'.
- **b**. The correct text is preserved in **K**, which reads  $\acute{s}ukrebhira\acute{s}mabhih$  (Barret's transcription  $\acute{s}ukrebhira\acute{s}mibhih$  is wrong). Note that the instrumental does not suit the verb  $m_r\dot{q}$ -, and was probably used by the redactor to maintain the parallel with the preceding stanza.
  - c. I interpret *vicakṣuṣ* as synonymous of *vicakṣas* 'clear sight'; see the note at 23.3c above.

#### 15.23.5 [Anuştubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.6cd

*vartrād *vartram ā krāma	A7
parvatād adhi parvatam	A

girau pratiśrutā satī	A
vrkṣān bhandhi mā yavam	A7

Step from dam to dam, from rock to rock. Even though being echoed on a mountain, shatter the trees, not the barley.

\*vartrād \*vartram] varttād varttam **Ku JM Pa**, varttad varttam **RM**, vartād vartam **Mā** [**Ma**]?, vantā bhuvantam **K** girau] **Or** giro **K** pratiśrutā] **K**, pratiśrtā **Or** vrkṣān] **Or**, vrkṣām **K** bhandhi] **Or**, bhamabdhi **K** mā] **Or** sā **K** yavam **Or**, vayam **K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K** 

In stanza five begins the so-called *apopompé* formula, which is developed in four stanzas. In general, anyone who pronounces this kind of formula wants to banish the malignant powers to a destination where they cannot harm any living being; hence we constantly find them being sent to the desert, uninhabited mountains, the sea or the end of the earth.

Note that stanzas five and six show a symmetric pattern.

Bhattacharya edits *vartād vartam* in **a**.

- **a**. The emendation is quite certain, since the mistake in the Orissa manuscripts could be due to the simplification of the cluster -*rt*(*t*)*r*-. Compare the variant readings PS 1.4.4b *varttain* vs. ŚS 1.3.7b *vártrain*. The same construction X-ablative + X-accusative 'from X to X' is found at PS 15.4.1a *ṛṇād ṛṇam* and 4.14.7a *hastād dhastam sam ayo bhriyamāṇo* 'You will become united, being carried from hand to hand' (Griffiths Lubotsky 2014).
- **c**. Bhttacharya edits *prati<u>śr</u>tā*. The Oriya vowel sign *-r* is pronounced [ru], so that there are no real variants for this word and there is not textual problem; underlining is unnecessary. Cf. also 23.6c.
- **d**. Cf. PS 5.20.7cd *atho vṛkṣasya phalgu yad ghuṇā adantu mā yavam* 'Let the *ghuṇas* eat a little bit of the tree, but not the barley'.

# 15.23.6 [Anuştubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.5cd

ādāmanā tvā <sup>+</sup> sam dyāmi	*#A
†yāvaṇyā pari bhūrṇ <sub>i</sub> yām†	*A
sānau pratiśrutā satī	A
tṛṇaṁ bhaṅdhi mā yavam	A7

I bind you together with a bond. ... (?). Even though being echoed on a mountain-ridge, shatter the grass, not the barley.

ādāmnā] JM,  $a(\rightarrow\bar{a})$ dāmnā Pa,  $\bar{a}(\rightarrow a)$ dāmnā [Ma], adāmnā Ku RM Mā, yadānyā K \*sam dyāmi] sandyāmi Ku [Ma] Pa, sandhyāmi JM RM Mā, satyāni K yāvaṇyā] Ku RM Mā [Ma], yāvaNYĀ JM, yā $(\rightarrow l\bar{a}?)$ vaṇyā Pa, yāvanyā K bhūrṇyā] K, bhṛṇyām Ku RM Mā [Ma], bhaRṇYĀm JM, bhuṇyām Pa sānau] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, sanau JM, māno K pratiśrutā] pratiśṛtā Or, pratiśrutas K satī] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, sat $\{i\}$ ī Pa tṛṇam] Or, taṇam K bhaṅdhi] Or, bharamagdhi K yavam] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], yāvam Pa, vayam K |||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 6 Z K

Bhattacharya edits *adāmnā* in **a**, *yāvaṇyā* in **b** and *pratiṣrtā* in **c**.

**a**. The compound *adāman*- 'an unbounded one' could also have a factitive meaning, viz. 'the one that does not bind', thus denoting the spell itself. Following a suggestion by Sadovski (p.

- c. September 2012) I decide to adopt the reading  $\bar{a}d\bar{a}mn\bar{a}$ , which is a hapax, of the manuscripts **JM**, **Pa** (*post correctionem*) and **Ma** (*ante correctionem*): the expression 'to bind with bond' is very common in Indo-Iranian ritual tradition and has parallels also in ancient Greek magical texts. It is noteworthy that in our passage the syntagma 'to bind + (with) bond(s)' is not expressed with words derived from different roots, as is usual in this kind of formulae, but both the words for 'bond' and 'to bind' derive from the same root  $d\bar{a}$  (< PIE \* $deh_{I-}$ ) 'to bind' and create a proper *figura etymologica*. On the root  $d\bar{a}$  'to bind', see KUIPER 1974: 121 ff.
- **b**. Note the (uncertain) reading  $y\bar{a}(\rightarrow l\bar{a}?)vany\bar{a}$  of **Pa**. On the basis of this reading and of the content of the following stanza, I would propose to read  $l\bar{a}vany\bar{a}h$ , from  $l\bar{a}vanya$  n., 'saltness, the taste or property of salt'. The word  $bh\bar{u}rny\bar{a}m$  can only be locative singular from  $bh\bar{u}rni$  'restless, active, excited, rash', but pari never takes the locative. So one possible solution is to read \* $l\bar{a}vany\bar{a}h$  pari \* $bh\bar{u}rny\bar{a}h$ . 'at the salty impetuous one', with ablative singular feminine, referring to dyu- f. 'heaven' (cf.  $divas\ pari$ ).
- **c**. Bhattacharya suggests, both for pāda 23.5c and 23.6c, the reading *pratiśritā*, which makes no sense. See my comment at 23.5c.

#### **15.23.7** [**Prose**] PS only

uśatī nāmāsi salindā nāma | Panyām \*āśām gacha yam dviṣmas tam gacha || P

You are called the wishing one,  $salind\bar{a}$  you are called. Go to another region, go to that one whom we hate.

uśatī] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, uśaddhī **JM**?, uṣatī **K** salindā] **Or**, sadimdā **K** \*āśāmi] āsām **Or K** gacha] **Or**, gaścha **K** yami] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ya **Pa** gacha] **Or**, gaścha **K** |||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 7 Z **K** 

# Bhattacharya edits $\bar{a}s\bar{a}m$ in **b**.

The metrical analysis of these two pādas is problematic. Since total lack of caesura is very rare (cf. KUBISCH 2007: 7), in pāda **a** the caesura could be generated by reading *uśatī nāmaāsi salindā nāma*. In pāda **b** there is no correct metre at all, because the last but one syllable (*gacha*) is long *positione*, so it is not a Jagatī, and a Triṣṭubh with twelve syllables must have an opening of five syllables. Maybe we could assume these two lines to be prose.

a. I propose to analyze the hapax *salindā*- (f.) as *sal-ind-ā*, and identify its first part with the Indo-European word for 'salt', PIE \**sal*-. This proper name, here used as an epithet, could have preserved the ancient name for 'salt' that is also found in other Sanskrit words (*sarít* -, *salilá*-/*sarirá*-, *sarṣápa*-, according to the interpretation of THIEME 1961). For the suffix, cf. AiGr. II/2, § 224, p. 353, where -*inda*- is defined as "Ausgang einiger etymologisch undurchsichtiger Personen- und Volksnamen". Addressing the hail as 'the salty one' is no surprising even at first sight, in that hailstones look indeed like pieces of salt, but there is also a more convincing evidence supporting this hypothesis. The notion ancient Indians had about salt has been brillianty investigated by SLAJE 2001 in a series of articles devoted to the interpretation of Yājñavalkya's Saindhava Dṛṣṭānta in BĀU II 4,12. In order to make entirely clear the famous simile about the dissolution of salt into water, Slaje has come to the conclusion that for ancient Indians salt was "nothing but a certain state of water changed to a solid form" (p. 33), "conceived as being indeed substantially the same as water, albeit in a particular crystallized

state of water, similar to, e.g., ice or hailstones as a frozen state of water" (p. 42). It is worth quoting also Slaje's observations on the connection between hail and salt, which are basically two changed states reached by the originally liquid manifestation of water through the influence of heat: "Solid manifestation of water were explained as caused by the influence of heat through an obstruction of its natural liquidity. The argument covering hail-stones etc. is based upon the causal factor 'heavenly fire' (divya tejas). Heavenly fire is what comes from the sun or appears as lightning. Lightning and hail-stones quite often occur simultaneously, as is well known. The inference based upon an observation of nature and immediately suggesting itself was, therefore, that this heavenly fire through contact effects a solid form of the water atoms [...]. Water, the natural liquidity of which had thus been obstructed, would fall down from heaven in its hardened form of hailstons. [...] it is a matter of everyday experience that here on earth heat causes also a change of the natural liquidity of water in that it 'transforms' water to 'solid salt': fire as an earthly manifestation (bhauma tejas) [...], as Śańkara has it explicitly, causes a change of the natural liquidity of (salty) water to solid lumps of salt. Therefore, heavenly fire causes the solidification of water in the form of hail, fire in the form of salt" (SLAJE 2001: 34–35). The almost total identification established between the two substances may thus provide a convincing explanation for the epithet salindā- applied to hail (cf. the occurrence of the word salilá- at 22.7b and possibly of lāvaņya- at 23.6b).

 ${\bf b}$ . The emendation is quite obvious, since both in  ${\bf K}$  and  ${\bf Or}$  the sibilants are often confused.

# **15.23.8** [**Pankti**] PS only, a: ŚS 6.29.3d = PS 20.28.8b

Α
A
*A
A
*A

Turning away, run to a region away, to a property away. With a powerful spell we cause you to disappear from here.

samvatam] **Or**, savyatam **K** parācīm anu samvidam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, parācīm anu samvidam parācīm a $\{\cdot\}$ nu samviDAm **JM**, om. **K** anu ni drava] **Or**, anundrava **K** itas] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ita $\{\cdot\}$ s **JM**, yadas **K** brahmaṇā] **Or**, vrahmaṇā **K** vīryāvatā] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vīryāvatām **JM** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 8 Z **K** 

**abc**. Note the accumulation of figures of speech, which gives the first three pādas of this stanza a formulaic character, also from a rhetorical point of view. There are two series of anaphora, involving the words  $par\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}m/par\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}$  and anu. The repetition of the same word declined in different cases at the beginning of the three verses  $(par\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}m/par\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}m/par\bar{a}c\bar{\imath})$  gives rise to a polyptoton, and the words samvatam and samvidam at the end of pādas a and b offer a good example of homoioteleuton and paranomasia at the same time. For pāda a, cf. also  $R^{V}$  1.191.15d  $pár\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}r$  ánu  $samvátah \approx PS$  4.17.5d  $ap\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}m$  anu samvatam.

#### 15.23.9 [Anuştubh] PS only

vār bhavo <sub>au</sub> dakam bhava-	*A
-udakasyodakam bhava	A

kṣudrāt kṣodīyasī bhūtvā-	+#A
-atheh <sub>i</sub> y adhamam tamaḥ	*A

Become water, become [a little amount of] water, become [a little amount of] water of [a little amount of] water. Having become smaller than small, then go to the lowest gloom.

vār] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa K**, vā **Mā** bhavodakasyodakam bhava] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, bhavodakasyodakam so bhava **JM** kṣudrāt] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, kṣudrā **RM K** bhūtvā athehy] bhūtvāthehy **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, bhūtvā 'thehy **JM RM**, bhūtvā yathehy **K** adhamam] **Ku K**, adhaman **JM Pa**, dhaman **RM [Ma]**, amadhaman **Mā** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 9 Z **K** 

a. I prefer the metrical scansion *bhava-udakam* rather than assuming a disyllabic scansion of *vār* (on which see LUBOTSKY 1995: 231). Also the metre of pāda a of the next stanza suggests the first solution. As pointed out by LUBOTSKY 2013: 1, *udaká*- "usally has a different shade of meaning [compared to *udán*-], viz. 'a limited amount of water (esp. for drinking)' (...) This means that the suffix *-ka*- does not have the collective meaning here (as assumed by AiGr. II/2, p. 529), but rather diminutive". My translation is rather artificial, but since the diminutive meaning of *udaká*- is particularly evident in this passage, it should be somehow expressed. For a parallel passage, in which the diminutive meaning of *udaká*- is very clear, cf. ŚS 4.16.3cd *utó samudráu várunasya kukṣī utásmínn álpa udaké nílīnaḥ* 'Also the two oceans are Varuṇa's paunches; also in this petty water is he hidden' (Whitney).

Is here for *udaká*- a meaning 'brine' = 'water tasting extremely salty' conceivable (see SLAJE 2001: 40–42)?

c. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.

# 15.23.10 [Anuştubh] PS only

syonā bhava śivā bhava	A
śivāc chivatarā bhava	A
phenān mṛdīyasī bhūtvā-	+#A
-idam˙ +sasyam upā cara	A

Become gentle, become propitious, become more propitious than propitious. Having become softer than foam, come near this crop.

śivā] **Or**, śagmā **K** bhava] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, bhavā **RM** śivāc chivatarā] śivāśachivatarā **Ku**, śivāt śivatarā **JM RM**, śivā chivatarā **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, śivāś chivatarā **K** phenān] **Or**, phenād **K** mṛdīyasī] **Or**, im ŗjīyasī **K** sasyam] śasyam **Or**, sāśyam **K** upā] **Or**, upa **K** cara] **Or**, cāra **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 10 Z **K** 

- **b**. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.
- c. The wish that hail becomes softer than foam, before falling on the crops, is expressed with an amazing realism. For the image of foam as something flimsy and harmless, cf. RV 1.104.3ab áva tmánā bharate kétavedā áva tmánā bharate phénam udán 'Sie führt selbst den Schaum mit sich, die Absicht erratend, sie führt selbst den Schaum auf ihrem Wasser mit sich' (Geldner) and PS 2.2.3cd = PS 9.10.1cd rasam viṣasya nāvidam udnah phenam adann iva 'I have not

found the essence of the venom, like one who eats the foam of water' (ZEHNDER 1999: 25 comments, "Gemeint ist 'du bist so wenig vergiftet wie einer, der... isst'").

**15.23.11** [N.N.] PS only, ab: cf. ŚS 1.13.ab = PS 15.20.8ab, 19.3.9ab, VSM 36.21ab; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b

namas te astu vidyute	A
namas te stanayitnave	A
namas te agne dūrehete kṛṇmo	(+#)Tb
mā no himsīr dvipado mā catuṣpadaḥ	Ja

Homage be to your lightning, to your thunder! We pay homage to you, O Agni, whose arrows fly to a distance. Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds.

namas] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, manas **Pa** astu] **Or**, stu **K** namas] **Ku JM [Ma] Pa K**, manas **RM**, om. **Mā** stanayitnave] **Mā [Ma] Pa K**, stanaitnave **Ku JM RM** te agne] **Or**, tagne **K** dūrehete] **Ku Mā** [**Ma] Pa**, dūrehyete **JM**, dūrehate **RM**, dūrehetī **K** kṛṇmo] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, kṛṇvo **JM RM K** ||] **Ku Mā** [**Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 11 Z **K** 

- **c**. The compound *dūreheti* 'whose arrows fly to a distance' is attested twice in the PS; besides this passage, it occurs at at PS 4.37.5b, where it is used as an epithet of Bhava and Śarva. It is attested also later in PārGS 3.14 *dūrehetir indriyavān patatri te no 'gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantu* 'The one whose arrows fly to a distance, the mighty one, the winged one; let these fires, the promoters, promote us'.
- **d**. Cf. ŚS 11.2.1d = PS 16.104.1d mấ no him si sựam dvi pádo mấ cátuṣ padaḥ 'Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds'.

#### **15.23.12** [Mahāpaṅkti] PS only; f: PS 15.22.9c

prati tvā sahasā sahaḥ	A
sahasā prati rudhmasi	A
aindram idam saho mahad	A
bhūmyās *tavo divi śritam	A
aphālakṛṣṭam ā krāma	+#A
mā na indra yavam vadhīḥ	A

With power we ward you off, with power, O power. This is the great power coming from Indra, the strength of the earth, lying in heaven. Step to [the field] tilled without a plough. O Indra, do not destroy our barley.

sahasā sahaḥ sahasā] **Or**, sāsahā sahaḥ sahām sahā **K** prati rudhmasi] rdhmasi **Or**, pratiroddhum asi **K** aindram idam] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, aimidam **JM**, ihendram idam **K** saho mahad] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, saho sahat **JM RM**, somahad **K** \*tavo] tava **Ku JM RM** Mā, tavam [**Ma**] **Pa**, tabhūm **K** śritam] śritam **RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, śritām **JM**, śrtam **Ku**, śrutam **Z** 12 **Z K** aphālakṛṣṭam] **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, apālakṛṣṭam **JM**, apāmlakṛṣṭam **RM** ā krāma] **Ku JM RM Mā** [**Ma**], ā krām{ā} a **Pa**, akrāma **K** yavam] **Or**, imam **K** vadhīḥ] **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vadhī **Mā** [] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM** 

Bhattacharya edits *tavaṁ* in **d**.

- **b**. For the loss of the nasal in rudhmas(i), due to dissimilation, see HOFFMANN 1952/57: 130–31 = 1976: 366 and 1975: 235 note 12.
- **d**. The emendation to \*tavo it is far from being certain. At the end of the line **K** reads śrutam, which could be in accord with the reading of **Ku** śrtam (the Oriya vowel sign -r- is pronounced [ru]), but probably the latter is to be considered a graphic mistake due to the confusion r:: ri, which is common in the Orissa manuscripts (cf. PS 15.10.9b). On the expression divi śritá-, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 82.

# **15.23.13** [Anuştubh] PS only, a: PS 7.13.13a, 15.19.11a, 19.20.14a, 19.33.15a $\approx$ $\mathbb{R}$ V 7.55.7b

= PS 4.6.1b

yāḥ samudrād uccarant<sub>i</sub>y \*+A

+utsebhyo yā nadībh<sub>i</sub>yaḥ | \*A

atyantaḥ sarpo vaidyuto #A

+aśanim yāvayād itaḥ || A

Whatever [waters] rise from the ocean, from the springs, from the rivers: the endless, flashing snake will keep the thunderbolt away from here.

yāḥ]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , yās  $\mathbf{K}$  samudrād]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{K}$ , samudrad  $\mathbf{Pa}$  uccaranty]  $\mathbf{Or}$ , uścanty  $\mathbf{K}$  <sup>+</sup>utsebhyo] achebyo  $\mathbf{Or}$ , utsabhyo  $\mathbf{K}$  nadībhyaḥ []  $\mathbf{Or}$ , nadībhyaḥ Z 13 Z  $\mathbf{K}$  atyantaḥ]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ], atyan( $\cdot$ )  $\mathbf{Pa}$ , atyantas  $\mathbf{K}$  sarpo]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{RM}$   $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{K}$ , sarvo  $\mathbf{JM}$ ,  $\langle \cdot \rangle$ po  $\mathbf{Pa}$  aśanim] śanim  $\mathbf{Or}$ , aśanam  $\mathbf{K}$  itaḥ]  $\mathbf{Ku}$   $\mathbf{JM}$   $\mathbf{RM}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$   $\mathbf{K}$ , itiḥ  $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  ||] ||  $\mathbf{r}$  13 || 23 || a 5 || ? 3 ||  $\mathbf{Ku}$ , ||  $\mathbf{r}$  10 || 23 ||  $\mathbf{JM}$ , |||  $\mathbf{r}$  || 23 ||  $\mathbf{RM}$ , || 23 ||  $\mathbf{r}$  13 || a 5 ||  $\mathbf{M\bar{a}}$  [ $\mathbf{Ma}$ ]  $\mathbf{Pa}$ , Z  $\mathbf{K}$ 

- **b**. The word *utsa* 'spring', 'fountain' is often metaphorically applied to the clouds (e.g. RV 1.64.6d, 5.57.1d, ŚS 4.15.7, 9, etc.).
- **cd**. The connection between pādas **ab** and **cd** is unclear to me, and maybe they did not belong together originally. Could the phrase *atyantaḥ sarpo vaidyuto* be interpreted as a description of the knife with which the hail is averted?

The text of kānda 15 here comes to an end. The manuscripts give the following colophons:

**Ku**: astādaśarccakānda samāptah || \* | śrī || \*

 $\boldsymbol{JM}$ : hariḥ om utsara || śrīḥ || aṣṭādaścarcakāṇḍa samāptāḥ || śrī om ||

RM: | \* | aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ || \* || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhramaḥ | yadi śuddhamaśuddham vā mama doso na vidyate | \*

 $M\bar{a}$ : aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhramaḥ | yadi śuddhamaśuddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate || 1 ||

[Ma]: astādaśarccakāndah samāptah ||

**Pa**: astādaśarccakāndah samāptah || \* ||

 $\mathbf{K}$ : Z ity atharvaņikapaippalādayas sākhāyām pañcadasas kāņdās samāptāh ZZZ kāņdah 15 ZZ ZZ

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

**Texts** 

AB Aitareyabrāhmaṇa; ed. AUFRECHT 1879; transl. KEITH 1920.

ĀpGS Āpastambagrhyasūtra; ed. WINTERNITZ 1887.

ĀpMP Āpastambamantrapāṭha; ed. WINTERNITZ 1897.

ĀpŚS Āpastambaśrautasūtra; ed. GARBE 1882–1902; transl. CALAND 1921, 1924,

1928.

ĀśvŚS Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. VIDYĀRATNA 1864–74.

AthPrāy Atharvaprāyaścittāni; ed. von Negelein 1913–14.

AVPariś Atharvavedapariśiştas; eds. Bolling — von Negelein 1909–10.

AVŚānt Atharvaveda Śāntikalpa; ed. Bolling 1904–13.

BaudhŚS Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. CALAND 1904–1923; revised ed. with transl.

KASHIKAR 2003.

GB Gopathabrāhmaṇa; ed. GAASTRA 1919; transl. PATYAL 1969.

HirGS Hiraṇyakeśigrhyasūtra; ed. KIRSTE 1889.

JB Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa; eds. RAGHU VIRA — LOKESH CHANDRA 1954.

KapKS Kapiṣṭhalakaṭhasamhitā; ed. RAGHU VIRA <sup>1</sup>1932, <sup>2</sup>1968.

KātyŠS Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. WEBER 1859.

KauśS Kauśikasūtra; ed. Bloomfield 1890.

KS Kāṭhakasamhitā; ed. VON SCHROEDER 1900–1910.

LāţŚS Lāţyāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. and transl. RANADE 1998.

MBh Mahābhārata; ed. SUKTHANKAR *et al.* 1927–59.

MS Maytrāyaṇīsamhitā; ed. von Schroeder 1881–86.

PārGS Pāraskaragrhyasūtra; ed. and transl. STENZLER 1876–78.

PB Pañcavimśabrāhmaṇa; ed. CHINNASWAMI ŚASTRI (— PATTĀBHIRĀMA ŚĀSTRĪ);

transl. CALAND 1931.

PS Paippalādasamhitā; reference is made for kāṇḍas 1, 3-4, 8-14 to the ed.

BHATTACHARYA 1997; for kāṇḍa 2 to the ed. ZEHNDER 1999; for kāṇḍa 5 to the ed. LUBOTSKY 2002; for kāṇḍas 6–7 to the ed. GRIFFITHS 2009; for kāṇḍas 13–14 to the ed. LOPEZ 2010; for kāṇḍa 16 to the ed. BHATTACHARYA 2008, for

kāṇḍas 17–18 to the ed. Bhattacharya 2011; for kāṇḍa 20.1–30 to the ed. of Kubisch 2012; for kāṇḍas 19–20.31 ff. to the "Leiden electronic text".

PSK PS read/numbered according to the Kashmirian manuscript (K); ed. BARRET

1905–40.

Rgvedasamhitā; ed. Aufrecht <sup>2</sup>1877; transl. Geldner 1951–57.

RVKh Rgvedakhilas; ed. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1906.

ŚāṅkhGS Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra; ed. SEHGAL 1960.

ŚāṅkhŚS Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. HILLEBRANDT 1888; transl. CALAND 1953.

ŚB Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyamdina recension; ed. WEBER 1855; transl.

EGGELING 1882-1900.

ŚS Śaunakasamhitā; first eds. ROTH — WHITNEY 1856 [= 1R-W], revised (by

LINDENAU) 1924 [= R-W]; critical edition (with padapāṭha and commentary attributed to Sāyana) PANDIT 1894–98 [= ŚPP]; transl. WHITNEY 1905 [= W-L].

TĀ Taittirīyāraņyaka; ed. PHADAKE 1897.

TB Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa; ed. GODBOLE 1898.

TS Taittirīyasamhitā; ed. WEBER 1871–72; transl. KEITH 1914.

VaitS Vaitānasūtra; ed. GARBE 1878; new edition (with Somāditya's Ākṣepānuvidhi)

VISHVA BANDHU 1967; transl. CALAND 1910.

VSM Vājasaneyisamhitā, Mādhyamdina recension; ed. WEBER 1852.

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EWAia Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen: MAYRHOFER 1992–96 and

1997-2001.

KEWA Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen: MAYRHOFER 1956–

80.

MW Sanskrit-English Dictionary: MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899.

PW Sanskrit-Wörterbuch ('Großes Petersburger Wörterbuch'): BÖHTLINGK — ROTH

1855–75.

pw Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung ('Kleines Petersburger Wörterbuch'):

BÖHTLINGK 1879–89.

<sup>1</sup>R-W ROTH — WHITNEY 1856.

R-W ROTH — WHITNEY 1924.

ŚPP PANDIT 1894–98

Ved. Var. Vedic Variants: BLOOMFIELD — EDGERTON 1930, 1932; BLOOMFIELD —

EDGERTON — EMENEAU 1934.

W-L WHITNEY 1905.

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#### INDEX VERBORUM

What follows is the *Index verborum* of kāṇḍa 15. For heteroclitic stems and for pronouns, I have listed all the forms under the nominative singular (masculine). For instance, all forms of the first person pronoun are found under *aham*, all forms of the demonstrative pronoun under *sa*, etc. Homophonous roots and stems are numbered in accordance with EWAia. If a word occurs twice or more times in the same pāda, the occurences are marked with a raised number.

## **Nominal stem**

A lemma is the stem of the word, delimited by a hyphen (-). The order of cases is traditional: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative. In pronouns and adjectives, the nominative-accusative singular neuter directly follows the nominative masculine. The feminine stands at the end of the lemma.

#### Verbal stem

A lemma is the verbal root, marked with the  $\sqrt{\text{sign}}$  and delimited by a hyphen (-). The order of the forms is the following: present active (indicative, imperfect, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, imperative, participle); present middle (idem); aorist active (indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative/precative, imperative, participle); aorist middle (idem); perfect active (indicative, pluperfect, pluperfect injunctive, subjunctive, optative, participle); perfect middle (idem); future active/middle; passive, passive aorist; causative active/middle (same order as in the present); causative reduplicated aorist; desiderative active/middle (same order as in the present); intensive active/middle (same order as in the present); non-finited forms (ta-/na-participle, gerund, infinitive). Uncompounded forms are given first, then forms compounded with preverbs (+), in the alphabetical order of the preverbs.

#### Other symbols

For lemmata prefixed with the + or \* sign, cf. p. 35. Dubious lemmata are prefixed with a question mark (?).

amśa-: amśam 13.3c

amhas-: +amhas 20.1c, amhasas 3.8d, 9d,

13.1d, 6d, 8d, 10d, 14.1d, 5d, 9d, 11d, 20.3c

akṣa-: akṣas 12.7a

akși-: \*akșī 19.6b

agada-: agadas 15.9b, 10b

agnāyī-: agnāyīs 5.5d

**agni-**: agnis 1.1c, 2.6c, 4.6a, 5.4a, 6.5c,

7.8a, 12.6d, 22.3a, agne 2.7a, 5.1b, 5.3a,

22.2a, 23.11b, agnim 13.1a, agninā 22.5c,

agnes 4.3b, agnau 22.3a

agra-: agras 22.10a

agriya-: agriyam 13.2c

**agha-**: aghasya 16.4b, 5b, 6b, 17.3b

**aghaviṣa-**: aghaviṣā 16.4b, 5b, 6b, 17.3b

aghaśamsa-: aghaśamsas 10.10d

aghāyu-: aghāyos 11.1b

aghora-: aghorā 2.4a

**aghnyā-**: aghnyās 3.9a, 19.10b

anga-: angam 12.8a, angebhyas 3.2c,

angeșu 20.10b

angabheda: angabhedas 3.2b

angiras-: angirasas 14.6c

achā: 15.4d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{a}\mathbf{j}}$ : + ud ud ajate 12.5c **anu**: 23.8ab ajara-: ajaras 6.5a, ajaram 6.6c anustubh-: anustubhā 1.8b ajātaśatru-: ajātaśatrus 2.2d anrta-: anrtam 3.8b  $\sqrt{\mathbf{a}\tilde{\mathbf{n}}\mathbf{j}}$ : ankşva 4.5a anehas-: anehasā 10.10b atas-: 1.1b, 3c, 2.8a **anta-**: +antām 5.6a atka-: atkam 12.5c **antar**: 22.4c antarikşa-: antarikşam 13.5b, antarikşāt atyanta-: atyantas 23.13c **atra**: 12.6c 22.8b, antarikşasya 7.3a, antarikşe 19.8a, atha: 23.9d 21.7b, 22.4b atharvan-: atharvānas 14.6b antarikşasad-: antarikşasadas 14.7b **atho**: 13.3b, 5b, 7b, 20.10c, 21.5g andha-: andhena 19.4b andhācī-: andhācīm 18.3a adābhya-: adābhyas 1.1c aditi-: aditis 5.4d, adite 5.3c, adites 2.3d **anva-**: anyat 6.8a, anyām 23.7b †adyāmteviraņī †: 18.9a ap-: apā 17.8c, āpas 3.9a, 14.4b, 15.5a, adhama-: adhamam 23.9d 22.2d, apām 4.3a, 7.2a, 11.6c, apsu 22.4c adharāt: 11.1b, 19.3a **apa**: 18.5a adhas: \*18.4b, \*21.7b apakāma-: apakāmam 10.2c adhastāt: 19.6a apabhartar-: apabhartā 20.5c adhi: 1.8a, 4.3b, 10.3c, 17.4b, 8d, 22.7b, apas-: apasas 5.5c 23.5b apāna-: apānāya 4.6b adhideva-: adhidevās 9.5a apramāyuka-: \*apramāyukam 3.3c apriva -: \*aprivas 4.2d adhipati-: adhipatis 1.3c adhipā-: adhipā 22.5b apsaras-: apsarasas 18.1a, 4d, apsarābhyas adhirājan-: adhirāja 22.3b 18.10f, 12d, 19.9d, 11d adhyakşa-: adhyakşas 7.1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, aphālakṛṣṭa-: aphālakṛṣṭam 23.12e 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 8.1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, abhaya-: abhayam 5.6b, abhayās 4.4b 7a, 9a, 9.1a, 2a, 3a, adhyakṣā 8.8a, 8.10a **abhi**: 2.5b anapavyayat-: anapavyayantas 10.7d abhitas: 5.6a anas-: anasā 19.3b abhibhā-: abhibhās 3.7d **abhibhūti-**: abhibhūtis 1.3a anāgas-: anāgasam 3.3d abhiśastipā-: abhiśastipās \*6.2b, 3b anātura-: anāturam 15.2d

anāthra-: anāthram 13.2d anādhṛṣṭa-: anādhṛṣṭam 1.5d anāviddha-: anāviddhayā 10.1c anirā-: anirām 2.8d anīka-: anīkam 11.7a, 12.4b

**abhīśu-**: abhīśavas 12.8c, abhīśūnām 10.6c √**am-**: āmayat 20.10b †**amāmagatyasta**†: 4.2c

abhīti-: abhītīs 20.3d

amitra-: amitrān 10.4d, 7c, 12.6e

amīvā-: amīvām 2.8d, amīvās 3.7c, 20.1d,

6b

amīvacātana-: amīvacātanam 3.7b

amutas: 11.3c

amṛta-: amṛtam 5.1c, amṛtasya 15.4c

amṛtatva-: amṛtatvam 22.2a

amṛdhra-: amṛdhrās 10.9c

ayam: ayam 5.2d, 12.8d, 22.10c, idam 1.1d,

2d, 3d, 4d, 5c, 6d, 7a, 8c, 3.7a, 8a, 6.3a,

9.6c<sup>2</sup>, 13.6a, 10a, 14.4a, 5a, 18.10e, 19.9c,

11c, 12c, 20.7c, 23.10d, 12c, imam 1.9d,

5.1d, 5.3a, 7a, 8c, 9a, 10a, 6.1a, 8b, 16.2a,

22.1d, anena 12.8c, asmai 1.7d, 5.2ac, 3c,

18.8d, 20.4b, asya 2.3b, 2.4b, 10.5a, 8ab,

12.3b, 9d, asmin 7.1b<sup>2</sup>, 4b<sup>2</sup>, ime 10.4d,

12.1a, 21.4c, imāni 12.11c, esām 4.5b,

11.5a, 13.10c, iyam 10.3d, <sup>+</sup>imām 11.7c,

asyās 11.2a, asyām 7.1c4, 9.44, imās 4.4d,

āsām 5.6d, \*11.3a

avuta-: ayutam 12.3d

**ara-**: arās 12.7a

arāya-: arāyān 14.9a

aristas 15.2a, 12.2d, aristāya 15.2b

ariştatāti-: ariştatātaye 18.8d, 21.5g

arişyant-: arişyantas 21.8a, arişyatas 21.7d

arundhatī-: arundhatī 15.4a, 8b, 9d, 10d,

arundhati 15.1d, 7c, \*16.2d, 3c, 4c, 17.7c,

arundhatyas 16.1a

arogana-: +aroganās 21.3b

arjuna-: arjunam 18.1c

aryaman-: aryamā 13.4c

arhant-: arhan 20.7abc

 $\sqrt{av}$ -: avatu 1.10b, 4.6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 7.1b,

<sup>+</sup>avatām 1.9d, avantu 4.10a, 6.9b, 9.4b,

22.1d

avara: avaras 9.4a, avare 2.5d

avidasya-: \*avidasyā 15.8b

 $\sqrt{a}$ **s**-: asnuse 15.3c

aśani-: aśanim 22.4d, 7a, 8a, 23.3d, 4d, 13d

aśīti-: aśītis 5.6b

aśman-: aśmā 5.7b, aśmānam 5.7a, aśmane

20.8c, aśmabhis \*23.3b, 4b,

aśva-: aśvā 12.10b, aśvās 10.7b, aśvān

11.5d, aśvebhyas 12.11d

aśvaparna-: aśvaparnās 12.1c

aśvavant-: aśvavatīs 18.10a

aśvājanī-: aśvājani 11.5c

aśvin-: aśvinā 13.4b

așțan-: așțau 12.10a

 $\sqrt{as}$ : asi 3.1ad, 5a, 11.10d, 12.4c, 15.3ab,

4a, 16.2c, 3a, 4c, 17.7c, 20.2a, 23.1a, 7a,

asti 20.7d, +stha 22.4a, santi 21.3b, asas

20.4d, asat 5.3d, astu 1.5c, 7b, 2.1d, 2d, 3d,

12.8d, 15.2d, 20.8ac, 22.8c, 23.11a, santu

14.10d, 15.6d, sat 2.5b, satas 2.5b, satī

23.5c, 6c

 $\sqrt{2}$ as-: asyasi 20.8d

**asi-**: asis 23.2a

asitācī-: asitācīm 18.3a

**asu-**: aso 3.4a, asave 3.4b

asura-: asurasya 23.1a

asurī-: asurīs 18.6d

**asau-**: amum 18.5c, amūn 12.1a

asmatsakhi-: asmatsakhā 11.8b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{ah}}$ : āha 3.8b, 6.5c<sup>2</sup>, āhus 13.7d

ahata-: ahatas 6.10a, ahatena 6.10a

aham: aham 2.8a, 18.8c, mā 3.6b, <sup>+</sup>4.6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 7.1b, 9.4b, 6b, 13.7ac, 15.7d, 16.3d, me 1.8a, 16.2a, 21.2bd, 22.1d, 23.2ade, vayam 10.8d, asmān 1.1bd, 2a, 4.5d, 11.3c, asmabhyam 11.2d, asmat 20.1cd, 3d, 6a, 9c, asmākam 12.1d, 15.2c, 20.9b, nas 1.3c, 9bd, 10ab, 2.1bd, 2bd, 3d, 4d, 5ab, 8c, 3.4c, 8d, 9d, 4.2b, 10.10bcd, 11.1ac, 7c, 10a, 12.1c, 13.1d, 6d, 8d, 10d, 14.1d, 5d, 9d, 10d, 11d, 15.9a, 20.1b, 3abc, 4ad, 21.1c, 3d, 5e, 7c, 22.2d, 5c, 6d, 7c, 9c, 23.3a, 4a, 11d, 12f, asmāsu 4.2a

**ahar-/ahan-**: ahnā 1.2c, ahani 1.3b, ahnām 1.5b, \*7c, 2.2b

**ahi-**: ahis 11.4a

ahorātra-: ahorātre 13.6a, 7b

**ā**: 2.8c, 12.7c

ākūti-: ākūtyām 7.1d, 9.4d

**āgneya**-: āgneyena 4.6a

**āji-**: ājim 10.2a

**ājya-**: ājyena 21.1b

**āñjana-**: āñjanam 3.2d, 3a, \*6a, 4.3c, 4a,

āñjana 3.1c, 10b, 4.1d

**āṇi-**: āṇyos 12.7c

ātividdhabheşaja-: \*ātividdhabheşajī

15.8c

ātura-: āturam 16.1c

ādāman-: ādāmnā 23.6a

āditya-: ādityās 14.6a, ādityān 13.6c,

ādityais 5.4d

**ādhipatya-**: adhipatye 1.8d, 2.1c

**āp**: + abhipra abhiprepsa 15.8a

āpi-: āpīnām 6.3b

**āyudha-**: āyudham 10.8b

**āyurdā-**: āyurdās 5.1a

**āyuṣ-**: āyus 5.2a, 4a, 6.1b, 6d, 7b, 8d, 12.10d, āyuṣe 4.6b, 5.3a, 9a, 10a, āyuṣas 3.1a

**āyuṣmant-**: āyuṣmatīs 21.3c

āraņya-: āraņyās 13.9b

ārtava-: ārtavān 14.2b

**ārtnī**-: ārtnī 10.4d

ārdradānu-: +ārdradānu 1.8c

**āvat**-: āvatam 16.1d

**āśā**-: āśā 2.1d, 2a, \*āśām 23.7b, āśās 13.5c,

āśābhis 22.5b

āśis-: āśiṣā 2.5c, āśiṣi 7.1e, 9.4d

āśīvisa-: āśīvisam 17.6b

**āśu-**: \*āśos 12.3a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{s}$ -:  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ sate 21.6a

āskandiki-: āskandike 18.7a

**āsthātar-**: āsthātā 11.8d

**āheya-**: āheyena 16.5a

 $\sqrt{i}$ : eşi 22.6b, yanti 22.5d, ihi 17.8d, 23.9d,

etām 12.9d, eta 14.8a, yantu 22.9a

+ anu + pra anupreyatus 3.10b

+ ud udetana 14.8b

+ pari paryeti 11.4a, 15.1b

+ pra pra etu 20.6a

+ sam samyan 1.1a, sametya 14.8d

itas: 3.7d, 11.3d, 10c, 15.4b, 7d, 16.3d,

18.5a, 20.10ad, 23.8d, 13d

iti: 3.9ab, 13.7d, 15.7d, 16.3d, 23.2de

id: 4.3d, 10.3a, 12.7a, 15.8b

indra-: indras 4.7a, 5.4c, 6.5d, 7.9a, 11.1c,

12.2a, 18.4d, indra 1.3c, 4c, 12.1d, 22.9c,

23.12f, indram 5.9a, 6.4c, 13.1c, indreņa

11.9c, indrasya 11.6d, 7a, 10d, 12.4b, 18.2c

indrāgni-: indrāgnī 15.6a, 22.1a,

indrāgnibhyām 23.2b, indrāgnyos 12.3b

indriva-: indrivam 21.6c, indrivena 4.7a

irya-: iryas 12.2c

iva: 4.1a, 4c, 5.1d, 3c, 7b, 10.1a, 3a, 3c,

4ab, 11.4a, 12.2c, 3ab, 5a, 10c, 15.8a, 16.1b,

18.5b, 19.1b, 9b, 10b, 20.6b, 22.6b, ?23.1c

 $\sqrt{i}$ s-: ichantīs 19.12b, ichamānas 2.5c,

isayantī 2.3c, isitas 2.6c

**iş-**: işam 2.8a

**ișu-**: ișavas 11.2d, 3b, ișūs 13.10c

işudhi-: işudhis 10.5c

ișubala-: ișubalās 10.9c

ișți-: ișțayas 1.2c

**iha**: 1.6a, 12.3d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{i}}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\hat{s}}$ -: + ava aveksante 19.7a

+ ud + vi udvīksante 19.6a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{r}}$ -: īrayanti 19.8a, īraya 20.3a

**īś-**: īśata 10.10d

īśāna-: īśānena 17.3a, īśānā 2.3b, 4b

**īṣā-**: <sup>+</sup>īṣā 12.6c

**u**: 6.1d, 2b, 3b<sup>2</sup>, 5c, 11.3a, 15.6d, 18.6d,

22.6d

**ugra-**: ugras 12.8d, 13.10b, ugra 15.1c,

20.9a, ugram 1.6d, ugrāya 20.4b, ugreņa

17.1a, ugrau 12.6a, 7b, ugrā 1.3a, 12.6c,

ugrās 12.6ab

ugrabāhu-: ugrabāho 20.2b

ugravīra-: ugravīram 1.4b

ucca-: uccais 19.11b

uta: 1.10c, 2.4c, 3.6d, 11.1bc, 9a, 12.7cd,

13.1b, 2b, 9b, 14.2b, 9b, 11b, 15.5b, 18.9d,

10b, 22.8b

uttama-: uttamam 17.8b

uttara-: uttarāt 14.8c, 19.5a, uttarasmāt

11.1b

utsa-: +utsebhyas 23.13b

udaka-: udakam 23.9ab, udakasya 23.9b

udumbara-: udumbarasya 23.3c, 4c

uparișțāt: 19.7a

upastha-: upasthe 2.3d, 10.1b, 4b, 12.10d

upasthāśā-: upasthāśānām 1.7b

**ubha-**: ubhā 13.6b, ubhe 12.5b, 21.4c

**uru-**: urau 22.4b, uravas 10.9d

ulungula-: ulungulasya 18.6c

ulunguluka-: ulungulukābhyas 18.10e,

19.9c, 11c, 12d

ulūkhala-: ulūkhalasya 18.3b

ulba-: ulbam 6.8b

**uśat-**: uśatī 23.7a

**uṣas-**: uṣās 13.7b

**ūti-**: ūtaye 6.4c

**ūrj-**: ūrjam 2.8a, ūrjas 4.3a

**ūrdhva-**: ūrdhvā 2.2a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{r}}$ -: aran 11.3c

rc-: rcas 14.1b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{r}\mathbf{j}}$ : +rñjan 12.5b

**rju-**: 12.10b

**rņa-**: rṇam 4.1a, rṇāt 4.1a

rtāvrdh-: rtāvrdhas 10.10c, 14.5b

**rtu-**: rtus 1.9b, rtavas 14.10b, rtūn 14.2a,

rtunām 7.7a

**rtupati-**: rtupatīn 14.2a

rși-: rṣayas 6.8c, rṣīn 14.4a, rṣīṇām 22.3b

**eka-**: ekam 4.5a<sup>2</sup>b, 12.8a, ekena 4.5b

ekatrimśat-: ekatrimśat 18.10a

ekaśata-: ekaśatam 14.9c

ekādaśa-: ekādaśās 9.6a

 $\sqrt{\text{ei-}}$ : eiat 20.7c

ena-: enam 5.9c, 10c, 12.10d, enad 1.6b,

enena 22.9d, enās 18.4a

eşa-: eşas 22.3b, etat 6.1c, etam 12.9d,

18.3c, eṣā 15.8c

aindra-: aindram 23.12c

ojman-: ojmānam 11.6c

ojas-: ojas 1.2d, 4b, 5c, 7b, \*8c, 5.2b, 11.6a,

10a, ojase 4.6c, 22.8c, ojasas +4.3a

ojasya-: ojasye 1.3b

oşajāta-: ?oṣajātām 1.9c

oşadhi-: oşadhe 15.1c, 16.2b, oşadhīm

15.7b, oşadhayas 3.6c, oşadhīs 13.1b,

15.6d, osadhībhyas 17.5a, osadhīnām 2.2a,

8.5a, 16.2d, 22.10a

**ka-**: kim 20.10b

kanyā-: kanyās 19.9b

kam: 21.6b

√**kam**-: kāmayate 10.6b

karna-: karnam 10.3a

†karnasya kauvidasyevamāśā†: 23.1c

karman-: karmani 7.1c, 9.4b, karmanām

7.9a

kavi-: kavayas 12.10a, kavibhis 12.11ad

kīkasā-: kīkasās 18.9d

kulijya-: kulijyās 15.5b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{kr}}$ : kṛṇomi 9.6c, kṛṇoti 10.5b, kṛṇmas

23.11b, kṛṇmahe 22.9d, \*kṛṇavāmā 16.1d,

kṛṇu 16.2b, kuru 15.9a, kṛṇotu 3.3c, 5.4a,

10.2c, 11.1d, 12.2a, kṛṇutam 12.9c, kṛṇuta

6.1b, kṛṇuṣva 4.5a, 22.5a, kṛṇvatām 10.7a,

akaram 18.10f, 19.9d, 11d, 12d, karat 4.3d,

kara 20.3c, \*karisyathas 21.1d, karikratīs

19.6b, 11b, krtam 3.1d, krtani 12.11d

krchreśrit-: krchreśritas 10.9b

√**kṛt-**: +cakṛtus 5.5b

**kṛttikā-**: kṛttikās 5.5b

kṛtyā-: kṛtyām 4.1b

krtyākrt-: krtyākrtas 4.1b

kṛṣi-: kṛṣim 23.2d, kṛṣyai 22.7c

**ketumant-**: ketumat 12.1b

keśin-: keśinīs 18.10d

**koṣa-**: koṣau 12.7b, \*koṣayor 12.7c

√**krand**-: kanikradat 22.6b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{kranday}}$ : +  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$   $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  krandaya 11.10a

√**kram-**: cakramānam 12.10d

+ ava <sup>+</sup>avakrāmantas 10.7c

+ ā ā krāma 23.5a, 12e

+ parā parā kramadhvam 9.5a, 12.8b

**kva**: 20.5a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\hat{s}an}}$ : + vi vy +akṣaṇan 5.5a

√**kşam**-: cakşimeşthās 20.4a

**kṣatra-**: kṣatram 1.1d, 3d, 5c, 6d, 7a, 8c,

kşatrena 12.8d, kşatrāya 1.7d, 5.9b, kşatre

5.9d

kşatrabhrt-: kşatrabhrt 1.4a

**kṣayadvīra-**: kṣayadvīrāya 20.4c

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{k}\mathbf{s}\mathbf{i}}$ : ksinanti 10.7d

 $\sqrt{\text{ksip-}}$ : ksiptas 17.7a, ksiptasya 16.6a,

17.1a, 2a, 3a

kşudra-: kşudrāt 23.9c, kşudrebhis 23.3b,

kşodīyasī 23.9c

√**khan-**: khanāmi 15.2b, khanati 15.2a

khala-: khalāt 18.5b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{khid}}$ -: cekhidyate 12.3b

gaṇa-: gaṇais 4.10a

**gandharvāpsaras-**: gandharvāpsarasas

13.4a

gabhīra-: gabhīrās 10.9b

 $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ : gachanti 19.12a, gacha 6.2a, 23.7b<sup>2</sup>,

gachata 18.5c, gachantu 18.6abd

+ anu anugatya 3.10c

+ apa apa gachata 18.5d

5ab, 6ab, 7a, 8a, 9a 10a, 17.1a<sup>2</sup>, 2a, 3a, +abhi abhigachāma 16.1c + ava avagatya 10.5b 20.9c, 10b, 21.1c, 22.8b + ā āgan 15.9d, 10d, 22.10c, ā ganīganti caksurmantra-: caksurmantrasya 4.1c cakşus-: cakşus 3.5d, 12.6d, cakşuşā 23.3c, 10.3a garbha-: garbhas 3.5a, 11.7b cakṣūmsi 12.10a gav-: gāvas 16.1b, gās 10.2a, gobhis 11.2b, candāla-: ?candālam 18.1c 6c, 8c, 12.4c, gosu 2.8c, 4.2b  $\sqrt{\text{cat}}$ : cātaya 20.1d, cātayan 3.7c catur-: caturbhyas 4.5c, catasras 18.10b gavya-: gavyam 5.1c  $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$ : + abhi + ava abhy ava g $\bar{a}$ s 23.1d caturvīra-: caturvīram 4.3c, 4a, 5c + ava ava gāt 23.2d catușpad-: catușpād 15.2c, catușpade gāyatra-: gāyatreņa 1.2b, gāyatrī 8.10a 20.4d, 21.2b, catuspadas 23.11d  $\sqrt{g\bar{a}h}$ -: + prati pratigāhante 19.9a candra-: candram 2.7a + vi vigāhante 19.10a candramas-: candramās 7.5a, 13.7d giri-: girau 23.5c, girişu 22.4c √car-: carati 22.3a gungu-: ?\*gunguvas 18.10b + ā ācaranti 19.2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, ācarantī 10.4a  $\sqrt{gr}$ : + abhi abhi grnīhi 2.1b, abhi grnantu + ud uccaranti 19.11a, 23.13a 2.4d+ upa upa cara 23.10d  $\sqrt{\text{grbh}}$ -: + prati grbhāya 11.7d cāru-: cārus 6.3d, cāru 5.1c cikit-: +cikitnū 1.7c grşţi-: grşţīnām 6.2b **grha-**: grhas 18.6c, grham 4.1b, grhe 4.2b citrasena-: citrasenās 10.9c gopā-: gopās 1.10c, 12.2c  $\sqrt{\text{cud}}$ : + pra pracodaya 11.5c gostha-: gosthe 12.8a chadis-: +chadisā 19.3b √**grabh-**: jagrabha 18.8c chandas-: chandasā 1.2b, chandasām 2.2c, grāmya-: grāmyās 13.9a 8.10a **grāhi-**: grāhyās 4.5d jagat-: jagat 11.9b, jagatas 2.3b, \*jagatyā **ghṛta-**: ghṛtam 5.1c, ghṛtena 21.1b, 22.3c 1.6b ghrtaprstha-: ghrtaprsthas 5.1b jaghana-: +jaghanān 11.5b ghṛtapratīka-: ghṛrhapratīkas 5.1b  $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$ : ajāyata 22.10b, jātas 12.2d, jātam **ghṛtavant-**: ghṛtavatī 2.1c 3.3a, 4.3b, jātā 20.1a ghṛtānc-: ghṛtācī 1.9d, 10b + anu anu jāyantām 6.9d ghora-: ghorās 18.9c + ā ā jajāna 2.5b **ghosa-**: ghosa 12.3b, ghosān 10.7a, 19.11b **jana-**: janam 19.12a<sup>2</sup>

**janitar-**: janitā 2.5a

jaradaşti-: jaradaştis 5.3d

**ca**: 1.9c, 2.7b, 3.10a<sup>2</sup>, 4.2b, 6.2cd, 3c, 10.5c,

11.2c<sup>2</sup>, 13.5c, 10b, 14.7b, 15.8d, 16.4ab,

jaras-: jarasam 5.1a, jarase 5.1d, 9c, 10c,

6.8c

jarā-: jarām 6.2a

jarāmṛtyu-: jarāmṛtyus 6.5b, jarāmṛtyum

6.1b, +16.2a

jalāṣa-: jalāṣas 20.5b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{j}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{g}\mathbf{r}}$ -: + adhi adhijāgarat 5.9d, 10d

jātavedas-: jātavedas 5.2a, 22.2d, 4b, 5a,

jātavedasas 4.3b

jāyānya-: jāyānyas 3.2a

 $\sqrt{\text{ji-}}$ : jayati 10.5d, jayema 10.2abd, jaya

10.1c, jayatu 11.8d, jayantu 11.3d, 12.1d,

jayantam 12.2b, jigetha 22.2b, jetvāni 11.8d

+ abhi abhi jayantu 12.1a

+ pra pra jaya 12.1a

 $\sqrt{\text{jinv}}$ : jinvantas 21.4b

jiṣṇu-: jiṣṇus 12.9a

**jīmūta-**: jīmūtasya 10.1a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{j}}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{v}$ -: jīvasi 17.8c, jīvāti 5.2d, jīva 6.2c, 3c,

jīvan 6.3d, jīvantam 15.8a

**jīva-**: jīvam 15.3c

jīvapurā-: jīvapurās 17.8d

jīvala-: jīvalā 16.3b

jīvātu-: jīvātave 21.5f

√**juṣ-**: juṣantām 6.7c, juṣāṇas 11.7c

**jyā-**: jyā 10.3d, jyāyās 11.4b

jyok: \*5.9d, 10d

tata-: tatas 9.4a

tatas: 21.2d

tatāmaha-: \*tatāmahas 9.4a

tatra: 10.8c, 11.2d, 15.4c

tathā: 23.1b

 $\sqrt{\text{tan-:}}$  atanvata 5.5c

+ ava ava tanvatām 22.7d

+ ā ā tanvanti 22.7a

+ vi vy <sup>+</sup>atanvata 5.5c, vitatā 10.3c

**tanū-**: tanvā 10.1c, tanūs 21.3\*ac

√**tap-**: tapatu 15.5d

tamas-: tamas 23.9d, tamasā 19.4b

taras-: tarasā 12.9a

tavas-: \*tavas 23.12b, tavasām 20.2b,

tavastaram 6.4a, \*tavastamas 20.2b

tāvant-: tāvat 15.1c

tigma-: \*tigmas 23.2a

tīrtha-: tīrthāni 19.10a

tīvra-: tīvrān 10.7a, tīvrās 10.2b

trna-: trnam 23.6d

trtīya-: trtīyasyām 15.4b, trtīyesu 9.5b

trşţa-: trşţam +17.6b

tṛṣṭadamśmant-: tṛṣṭadamśmabhis 17.7b

 $\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$ : taranti 3.6c

+ pra pra tirāti 12.10d, pra tirantu 6.6d, \*8d,

pratirantas 6.7b

tejas-: tejase 4.6c

√**trā**-: trāyasva 3.4a, trāyamāṇā 16.3a

trișțubh-: trișțubhā 1.4b

**tris**: 9.6a

traikakuda-: traikakudam 3.6a

**tvam**: tvam 1.10c, 3.1c, 5.7b, 10.1c, 15.1c,

3c, 16.2a, 4c, 17.7c, 20.1b, 2a, 3a, 4a, 22.2a,

tvām 6.8c, 15.7ac, 16.3c, tvā 3.6c, 10ac,

5.5abc, 6.9bc, 10.1d, 12.10c, 15.2ab, 4d,

23.1b, 6a, 8d, 12a, tvayā 23.1b, tvat 20.1a,

tava 5.2d, 22.2c, te 2.6c, 3.2c, 4.3d, 4abd,

5.4abcd, 6.6d, 8bd, \*9a, 11.8d, 9b, 12.6a<sup>2</sup>c,

7abd, 11e, 15.5abd, 6acd, 20.5a, 7d<sup>2</sup>, 8abc,

21.7a, 22.6c, 23.11abc, yuvam 21.3d, 5e,

vām 21.1a, 3abc, vas 18.1abd, 18.9c

**tvaṣṭar-**: tvaṣṭā 8.2a, tvaṣṭar 5.2b, tvaṣṭāram

13.2c

 $\sqrt{\text{dam}}$ s-: daştas 17.7b, daştasya 16.5a

damstra-: damstrās 14.10c

dakṣiṇatas: 14.8a

 $\sqrt{\text{dad-:}}$  + vi vy adadanta 5.6a

dant-: dantas 11.2a

 $\sqrt{\text{day-:}}$ : dayase 20.7c

darbha-: dharbas 13.8c, 22.10a

davīyas: 11.9d

**daśa-**: daśa 18.10c<sup>2</sup>

 $1\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ : + anu anu dadatām 12.10c

+ ā ādi 2.8a

 $\sqrt[3]{d\bar{a}}$ : + sam +sam dyāmi 23.6a

†divikşipadbhyoapsuyā†: 21.8d

divişad-: divişadas 14.7a

**divya-**: divyas 13.7c, 18.8b, divyena 22.5c,

divyās 18.6a

diś-: diśas 4.3d, 4b, 13.5b, digbhis 22.5a,

digbhyas 1.1a, diśām 1.3a, 5a, 7a, 9a, 10b,

2.2a, 4a

 $\sqrt{\text{dih}}$ : digdhena 16.4a

dīrgha-: dīrgham 6.1b

duchunā-: +duchunām 11.10c

dundubhi-: dundubhis 12.1b, dundubhe

11.9c, 10c

√**durasya-**: durasyatas 5.7c, 6.10c

durita-: duritāt 10.10c, duritā 11.10b

**durhārd-**: \*durhārd 4.2c, durhārdas 4.1c

duştara-: duştaram 1.5c

duşţarītu-: +duşţarītus 1.1c

dusvapnya-: dusvapnyam 4.2a

dūra-: dūram 3.10c, 20.7d, dūrāt 11.9d,

18.4a

**dūreheti-**: dūrehete 23.11c

**deva-**: devas 1.1c, 13.4c, 22.2b, deva 3.6a,

5.1a, 11.7d, devam 5.8a, 13.2a, devena

17.1a, devāya 5.6c, devās 1.5b, 6c, 5.3d, 8b,

6.6d, 7c, 9b, 9.5a<sup>2</sup>, 12.11e, 14.6b, 7a, 8ad,

10b, 22.4ad, devān 14.5a, 22.1c, devais

11.9c, 22.10c, devebbyas 2.7c, 21.5d,

devānām 9.1a, 5a, 15.3a, 18.4c, 20.2a, 9a,

22.3d, deveşu 9.5a, devīs 5.6c, 14.4b, 10a

**devatva-**: devatvam 22.2b

**devahūti-**: devahūtim 6.7c, devahūtyām

7.1d, 9.4c

devī-: devī 1.10b, 15.8d, 9d, 10d

daiva-: daivās 14.6b

daivya-: daivyasya 20.5c

dyāvāpṛthivī-: dyāvāpṛthivī 10.10b

dyu-/div-: dyaus 15.1a, dyām 11.9a, divam

14.3a, 18.6a, divas 2.3a, 3.5d, 7.4a, 11.6a,

18.4b, 21.7b, 22.8b, 23.3b, 4b divi 15.4b,

22.2c, 4a, 23.12d

**draviņa-**: draviņam 2.5c

√**dru**-: dravanti 11.2c

+ anu + ni anu ni drava 23.8c

**dvādaśan-**: dvāvadaśa 14.10b. dvādaśās

1.2c

?dvādaśāhnāni: 23.1d

dvitīya-: dvitīyās 9.5b, dvitīyeşu 9.5b

dvipad-: dvipād 15.2c, dvipade 20.4d,

21.2b, dvipadas 23.11c

 $\sqrt{\text{dvis}}$ : dvesti 21.1c, dvismas 21.1c, 23.7b

**dveşas-**: \*dveşas 21.1d

dhanur-/dhanvan-: dhanus 10.2c, 20.7a,

dhanvanā 10.2a<sup>2</sup>bd, dhanvan 10.3c,

dhanvāni 22.7d

†dhanucittejajāna†: 12.11b

**dhanvadhi-**: dhanvadhis 12.11b

dharuṇa-: dharuṇas 2.3a

**dhartr-**: dhartrī 1.7a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{dha}}$ : dhehi 5.2a, dadhatu 5.4b, dhatta **nāman-**: nāma 10.8a, 13.4c, 15.4a, 18.8c,  $23.7a^{2}$ 6.1a. dhās 5.3a + ā ā dhatsva 6.8a, ā dhās 11.10a, 12.10d nārī-: nārīs 5.6b + adhi + ni adhi ni dhehi 5.2b nirrti-: nirrtis 20.6a, nirrte 3.4c, nirrtyās + ni nihitam 10.8b 3.4c + pari pari dhatta 6.1a, pari dhattana 5.8d, nişka-: nişkam 20.7b 9ab, 10ab, pari dhatsva 6.2a, 8a, pari **nisyada**-: nisyadābhyām 12.7b <sup>+</sup>adhāpayan 5.8b, paridhe 5.6c, paridhātavai  $\sqrt{n\bar{\imath}}$ : nayāmi 21.1a, nayati 10.6a, nayām 6.1d +5.9c, +10c, naya 5.1d + pari + adhi pari \*adhithās 6.3a + vi vi nayāmasi 20.10d + pra prahitas 22.10c + sam sam naya 4.1a + prati prati dhīyatām 15.6b nīlavyakta-: nīlavyaktāni 19.7b dhātar-: dhātāram 13.2b **nīvi-**: \*nīvim 6.7b dhāman-: dhāman 2.8b **nṛ-**: naras 11.2c √**dhāv-**: dhāvayantas 12.10b  $\sqrt{\mathbf{nrt}}$ -: + apa apa nrtyata 18.9b, apa **dhī**-: dhiyas 5.5d \*nrtyantu 18.7b √**dhṛ**-: dhāraya 1.3d, <sup>+</sup>dādhartu 1.7a **nemi-**: nemī 12.6a dhruva-: dhruvas 4.4c, dhruvā 2.4a nairrta-: nairrtebhyas 4.5c **na**: 3.6c, 15.3d, 10a, 20.7d<sup>2</sup>, 21.4a, 5f pakşa-: pakşau 12.4a nakşatra-: nakşatrāņi 14.3a, nakşatrāņām pakşin-: pakşinas 13.9c 7.5a pankti-: panktis 2.2c nadī-: nadyas 14.3c, nadīs 19.9a, nadībhyas **pañcan-**: pañca 13.8a, 14.10a 23.13b, nadīnām 8.6a pañcadaśa-: pañcadaśena 1.4c  $\sqrt{\text{nam-:}}$  + sam sam namantu 12.10a pañcavimsati-: pañcavimsatis 18.10d namata-: \*namatā 12.6c  $\sqrt{\text{pat-:}}$  patati 11.2b, pātayanti 22.8a namas-: namas 18.10f, 19.9d, 11d, 12d, + ā āpatantīs 11.3c, 18.4b 20.8abc, 22.8c, 23.11abc + sam sam patayantu 12.1c **nar-**: naras 12.1c patatrin-: ?patatrī 11.3b **nava-**: navā 12.5d **pati-**: patis 14.11b √**naś-**: nāśayāmas 20.10a, nāśayāmasi patnī-: patni 2.1a, patnībhis 14.5c 20.9d, 23.8d, nāśayat 3.7d √**pan-**: panāyata 10.6c  $\sqrt{\mathbf{nah}}$ : + ni ninaddhas 10.5d panthā-/path-: pathā 22.9b, pathīnām 8.9a samnaddhas +11.8c, 12.4c, sam payas-: payas 3.5d, payasā 2.6b, payasām

8.4a

payasvant-: payasvatī 1.10a, 2.1d

samnaddhā 11.2b

nābhi-: nābhis 11.7b, nābhayas 12.7a

para-: param 21.2d, pare 9.4a

parāñc-: parācī 23.8c, parācīm 23.8ab,

parācīs 18.7b, 18.9b

pariplava-: pariplavas 18.8b

pariṣṭhā-: pariṣṭhā 20.7d

parjanya-: parjanyas 8.5a, parjanya 22.6c,

parjanyam 13.5a, parjanyasya 12.3a

parvata-: parvatam 23.5b, parvatāt 23.5b,

parvatān 14.3b, parvatānām 8.1a, parvatesu

22.4c

parvatīya-: parvatīyam 4.3c, parvatīyās

3.6d

**pavi-**: pavī 12.6a

 $\sqrt{\text{paś-:}}$  + pari pari paśyasi 20.7e

+ prati pratyapaśyam 18.4a

paśu-: paśavas 13.9a, paśubhis 12.2c,

paśūnām 8.3a

paśupati-: paśupatis 13.10b, paśupatinā

16.10a, paśupatī 21.1a, 2a

paścāt: 1.10c, 10.6d, 11.1a, 14.8b, 19.4a

 $\sqrt{p\bar{a}}$ : pātu 1.1bd, 2a, 10.10c

+ pari pari pāhi 3.6b, 15.1d, pari pātu 4.5d,

11.1a, 4d

 $\sqrt{2}\sqrt{pa}$ : piba 4.5b, piban 5.1c

pāñcajanya-: pāñcajanyās 18.2a

pātra-: pātreņa 17.8c

pāra-: pāram 20.3c

pāśa-: pāśebhyas 3.4d

**pitar-**: pitā 2.5a, 5.1d, 10.5a, 12.10c, pitaras

9.4a, 10.9a, 10a, pitrīn 14.4c, pitrīnām 9.3a

punyajana-: punyajanān 14.9b

**putra-**: putras 10.5a, 22.3b, putram 5.1d,

10.4b

**punar**: 3.10d

pums-: pumān 11.4d, pumāmsam 11.4d

puraetar-: puraetā 1.10c

puras-: puras 10.6a

purastāt: 11.1c, 14.8c, 19.2a

purutrā: 11.9b

pururūpapeśas-: pururūpapeśas 6.6b

purușa-: purușam 16.2b, purușās 20.9b

puruşajīvana-: puruşajīvanam 3.3b

purūcī-: purūcīs 6.3c

purodhā-: purodhāyām 7.1c, 9.4c

**pușți-**: pușțim 5.4b

puṣpa-: puṣpam 3.5b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\bar{u}}}$ : + sam pavate sam 1.1a

pūta-: pūtam 2.7a

pūruṣa-: pūruṣas 3.8b, 15.3d, pūruṣam

18.5c

pūrvayāvant-: pūrvayāvat 6.6b

**pūṣan-**: pūṣā 8.9a, 10.10c, pūṣaṇam 13.2b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{pr}}$ -: piprtāt 1.3c, pipartu 1.2d, 9b, 10.1d,

pipṛtām 10.4b, pṛṇānas 5.1a, pārayān 15.7d,

16.3d, pārayantī 10.3d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{prj}}$ : + ava ava \*aprjjan 5.5d

pṛtanā-: pṛtanās 10.5c

pṛtanāy-: pṛtanāyatas 5.7d, 6.10d

pṛthivī-: pṛthivī 15.1a, pṛthivi 2.6a,

pṛthivīm 11.9a, pṛthivyās 2.3a, 7.1a, 11.6a,

prthivyām 3.3a, 14.7c, 15.6c, 17.4a, 22.4a

pṛthu-: pṛthu 12.11c

**prsti-**: prstīs 4.1d, \*18.9c

prstha-: prsthe 10.5d

posa-: posam 6.2d

**pra**: 20.6a

pracatām: 20.6b

prajā-: prajām 5.2b, prajayā 6.5b, 12.8d,

prajāyām 2.8c, prajānām 9.2a, 21.5a

**bali-**: balim 4.4d prajāpati-: prajāpatis 9.2a. 21.5a. **bahis**: 3.2d prajāpatim 14.4b pratara-: prataram 5.4ab **bahu-**: bahus 10.5a, bahu 3.8a, 19.12b, pratarana: pratarana 11.8b, prataranam bahavas 6.9d, bahvīnām 10.5a, bahvīşu 3.1a 15.7a √**bādh-**: bādhamānas 11.10b **prati**: 23.12a **pratīka-**: pratīkam 10.1a + apa apabādhamānas 11.4b **prathama-**: prathamas **bāhu-**: bāhum 11.4a, bāhū 12.4a, 5a 12.2d, 22.2ab, prathamau 22.1a, prathamās 9.5b **bāhya-**: bāhyās 3.6d prathamachad-: prathamachadas 2.5d **budbudayāśu-**: \*budbudayāśavas 18.2d prathamavāsya-: prathamavāsyam 6.9a **budhna-**: budhnena 18.3b pradiś-: pradiśam 20.8d, pradiśas 4.3d, **brhant-**: brhat 1.4a, 21.6c, brhatas 12.6b, 10.2d, 14.10a brhatī 1.9c, 21.7a **prapada-**: prapadam 12.2a, prapadais 10.7c **bṛhaspati-**: bṛhaspatis 2.4c, 6.1c, 5d, 9.1a, 11.1a, 15.5c, brhaspate 1.10d, brhaspatim **prayuta-**: prayutam 19.12b pravayaṇa-: pravayaṇam 12.6d 13.1c pravrājin-: pravrājinīs 16.1b brahman-: brahmanā 18.9d, 20.9d, 10a, **prașțiyuga-**: \*prașțiyuge 12.9c 23.8e, brahmani 7.1b, 9.4b, brahmanas 6.7a, 17.5b prasava-: prasavānām 7.10a prahita-: prahitās 11.3d brahmanaspati-: brahmanaspatim \*5.8c, **prākāśa-**: prākāśā 12.10b 13.4b prāñc-: prācī 1.5a, prāñcas 14.8b brāhmanās 17.6a. brāhmaņa-: prāṇa-: prāṇas 3.5c, prāṇa 3.4a, prāṇam brāhmanāsas 10.10a 3.4a, prāṇāya 4.6b **√brū-**: brūmas 13.1a, 2ac, 3ac, 4a, 5ac, 6ac, 9c, 10a, 14.1ac, 2a, 3a, 4ac, 5a, 9ac, 11ac, **prāvṛṣa-**: \*prāvṛṣā 1.5b √**prās-**: + anu <sup>+</sup>anuprāsya 12.11c brūmasi 13.8c **priya-**: priyam 5.3b, 10.3b + adhi adhi bravītu 5.4c, adhi brūtam 21.2a √**preňkh-**: preňkhayante 19.1a **bhaga-**: bhagas 4.9a, 6.8d, bhagam 13.3b, preňkha-: preňkhe 19.1a bhagena 4.9a phena-: phenāt 23.10c **bhanga**: bhangas 13.8c  $\sqrt{\mathbf{bandh}}$ : badhyate 4.4a  $\sqrt{\mathbf{bhaj}}$ : + vi vibhajāsi 6.3d + vi vibaddhas 12.11a  $\sqrt{\mathbf{bhanj}}$ : bhandhi 23.5d, 6d

**bhadrātīkāśa-**: \*bhadrātīkāśam 6.6c **bhava-**: bhava 20.7d, bhavena 16.7a

**bhadra-**: bhadram 3.3b

bandha-: bandhas 12.7d, bandhebhyas 4.5d

**bala-**: balam 11.10a, 12.7a, 8a, balāya

21.6b

**bhavāśarva-**: bhavāśarvāu 13.10a **bhāgadheva-**: bhāgadhevam 22.3d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{bhid}}$ : + vi vi bhinadmi 18.1bd

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{bh\bar{i}}}$ : bibhes 15.10a

**bhīma-**: bhīmas 12.5b, 22.6c

**bhuvana-**: bhuvanasya 2.1a

√**bhū**-: bhavati 10.1a, \*abhavat 5.6d, bhava

5.7b, 6.2b, 10a, 23.9a<sup>2</sup>b, 10a<sup>2</sup>b, bhavatām

15.6a, bhavantu 4.4b, abhūs 6.3b, bhūyās

11.8a, bhavişyasi 15.10b, bhavişyati 15.9b,

bhūtvā 23.9c, 10c

+ ā ā babhūvitha 20.2d

+ ud un bhavantu 20.3b

+ sam sam bhava 6.10b, sam babhūva 22.2c

bhūta-: bhūtam 14.11a, bhūtāni 14.11c,

bhūtānām 14.11b

**bhūtapati-**: bhūtapatim 14.11a

bhūmi-: bhūmim 14.3b, 20.7e, bhūmyās

23.12d

√**bhṛ**-: bharāmasi 2.7c, bibharşi 20.7a,

babhuryās 20.1b, bibhratīs 19.7b

+ pari +  $\bar{a}$  pary  $\bar{a}$ bhṛtam 11.6a, 21.5d

+ pari + sam pari sambhṛtam 11.6b

+ pra pra bharāmahe 20.4c

+ sam sambharanti 17.5a, 6a, sambhrtam

1.8b

bhṛātar-: bhṛātaras 6.9c

bheşaja-: bheşajam 3.1b, bheşajā 14.1b,

bheşajī 15.9c, 10c, bheşajebhis 20.1b, 3a

<sup>1</sup>**bhoga-**: bhogais 11.4a

**2bhoga-**: bhogāya 3.10d

maghavan-: maghavā 12.2b, maghavas

20.3b

mani-: manim 4.5a

mati-: matim 20.4c

madhu-: madhor 1.1b

madhya-: madhyam 3.7a, 5.6b

madhyatas: 11.1c

madhyama-: madhyamāni 12.11c

 $\sqrt{\text{man-:}}$  manutām 11.9b

manas-: manas 10.6d, 11.3b, manasā 20.2c,

21.4d

manīṣā-: manīṣā 1.8a

manīşin-: manīşiņas 14.6c

manotar-: manotā 2.4b

marut-: marutas 4.10a, 22.1b, 5d, 7b,

23.3a, 4a, marudbhyas 22.8c, marutām

11.7a, 12.4b, 15.3b

marutvant-: marutvān 5.4c, marutvan

20.3b

**mah-**: mahi +1.3d, 1.7d, 9.6b, mahe 5.9b,

10b

mahant-: mahat 5.6d, 23.12c, mahāntas

9.6b

mahas-: mahas 12.8b

mahādeva-: mahādevena 17.2a

mahārukma-: mahārukmās 18.2b

mahitva-: mahitvam 5.6d

mahiman-: mahimā 10.1d, mahimānam

10.6c

mahişa-: mahişasya 2.8b

mā: +11.3c, 15.10a, 20.9a, 21.2d, 22.3d, 5c,

9c, 23.1d, 2de, 5d, 6d, 11d<sup>2</sup>, 12f

**māki-**: +mākis 10.10d

mātar-: mātā 5.3c, 10.4b, mātrbhyas 12.5d

**mātariśvan-**: mātariśvā 2.4c

mādhava-: mādhavas 1.1b

māyobhava-: māyobhavam 3.1d

mālava-: mālavās 19.1b

**mās-**: māsas 14.2c

**mitra-**: mitras 3.10a, 7.1a, mitra 5.3b, mitram 13.3b, 22.5ab, 9d, mitrasya 11.7b

mitravant-: mitravat 1.7b, 8c

mitrāvaruņa-: mitrāvaruņā 1.7c, 8d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{m}}$ : + pra praminanti 21.4a

mīdhvas-: mīdhuse 20.4b

√**muc-**: muñca 3.4d, muñcantu 13.1d, 6d, 7ac, 8d, 10d, 14.1d, 5d, 9d, 11d, amukthās 17.8a

+ pari pari muñca 3.8d, 9d

+ prati prati muñcatām 4.2d

√**mud-**: modamānas 20.2c

muşţi-: muşţis 11.10d, 12.4b

 $\sqrt{mr}$ : marişyasi 15.10a, martave 21.5f

**mṛga-**: mṛgas 11.2a, mṛga 12.8a, mṛgās 13.9b

 $\sqrt{m_r d}$ : mrda 3.4b, 12.3d, mrdatam 21.3d,

5e, \*mṛḍayata 23.4a

mṛḍayāku-: mṛḍayāko 20.5b

mṛtyu-: mṛtyunā 17.7a, mṛtyos 11.4d, mṛtyūn 14.9c

mrd-: mrdbhih 22.10d

mṛdu-: mṛdīyasī 23.10c

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{m}\mathbf{r}}$ -: + pra pra mṛṇīhi 5.7c, 6.10c, pramṛṇan 12.6e, 9b

**meni-**: menis 23.1a, menaye 17.5b

mehana-: mehanam 18.1b

ya-: yas 2.5a<sup>2</sup>b, 3.2a, 6.8b, 13.4c, 10b, 14.11b, 17.7ab, 18.6c, 8a, 21.1c, yat 2.7a<sup>2</sup>b<sup>2</sup>, 3.9ab, 4.2ab<sup>2</sup>, 3c, 9.6c, 10.1b, 11.3a, 17.4ab, 5a, 6a, 20.10b, 21.6c, yam 12.2b, 13.7d, 15.3c, 16.1c, 21.1c, 23.7b, yena 5.8a, 20.8d, 22.5d, yasya 6.7a, 9a, 21.4c, ye 13.9ab, 14.7abc, 10bc, 21.7a, 22.4a<sup>2</sup>bc, 7a, 8a, yā 2.4b, 13.10c, 14.10a,

16.4b, 5b, 6b, yās 19.1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 11a, 12a, 21.3abc, 23.13ab

yakrt-: yakrt 18.1a

yakşa-: yakşāṇi 14.3b

yakşma-: yakşmas 20.6a, yakşmam 3.2c, yakşmāt 17.8a, yakşmasya 20.10c, yakşmān

20.1c, 9c, yakşmais 17.7a

 $\sqrt{yaj}$ : yaja 11.6d, yajamānam 14.1a

yajus-: yajūmsi 14.1c

yajña-: yajñam 1.9d, 14.1a, yajñena 2.6b, yajñasya 2.8b

yajñiya-: yajñiyam 2.7b

 $\sqrt{\text{vat}}$ : vatate 12.5b

yatra: 10.6b<sup>2</sup>, 8b, 11.2c, 21.2c

yathā: 5.3d, 9c, 10c, 20.4d

†yathā nas tṛṣṇamad vasu†: 21.8c

†yadottamattantumaddhāyanāvad†:

6.6a

√yam-: yachān 11.2d, yacha 5.3c, yachatu 5.4d, 22.6d, yachantu 12.11e, yachatam 1.7d

+ anu anu yachanti 10.6d

+ ud ud yamyamīti 12.5a

+ ni ni yacha 22.2d

+ pra prāyachat 6.1c

yama-: yamas 9.3a

yamaśrestha-: yamaśresthan 14.4c

yava-: yavas 13.8c, yavam 22.9c, 23.5d, 6d,

12f

yaśasvant-: yaśasvatī 1.5a

 $\sqrt{v\bar{a}}$ : vāti 10.1b, vāhi 12.6e, 9b

+ upa + pra upa pra yāhi 21.7c

yātudhāna-: yātudhānyas 18.5b

yāmya-: yāmyām 1.10d

†yāvaņyā pari bhūrņyām†: 23.6b

**vāvant-**: yāvat 15.1a<sup>2</sup>b **rātrī-**: rātrī 15.6b  $\sqrt{\mathbf{vu}}$ : +yuyotu 12.2c, yūyavat 22.3d,  $\sqrt{\mathbf{r}\mathbf{\bar{a}dh}}$ : +  $\mathbf{\bar{a}}$   $\mathbf{\bar{a}r}\mathbf{\bar{a}dh}$ vam 20.6c yāvayāmasi 23.3d, 4d, yāvayāt 23.13d, rāyaspoşa-: rāyaspoşam 5.2c rāṣṭra-: rāṣṭram 1.4a, rāṣṭrāya 5.8d yāvayātha 22.4d + vi +vi yāvaya 20.1c √**riş**-: rişyāti 15.3d, rişat 21.2d, <sup>+</sup>rişan 20.9b √**yuj-**: yundhi 1.10d  $\sqrt{\text{ruc}}$ : + ati ati rocati 21.6d + sam samyukte 21.4d, samyuktās 21.6b **rudra**: rudras 8.3a, +21.3a, rudra 20.1a, 2a, **yoga-**: yoge 6.4a<sup>2</sup> 5a, rudrena 16.9a, rudrāya 20.4b, rudrasya voni-: yonau 2.8b 20.2d, rudrās 14.6a √**rudh-**: + prati prati rudhmasi 23.12b **yoṣā**-: yoṣā 10.3c, 4a √**raks**-: raksati 21.5b, raksa 10.10d, raksatu  $\sqrt{\text{ruh}}$ : + ava ava rohatu 2.6c 1.1d, 4d, raksatam 1.8d + ā āruksas 17.8b + vi vi rakse 23.1d rūpa-: rūpānām 8.2a rakşas-: rakṣāmsi 14.9a, 20.9c retas-: retas 5.3b rakşohan-: rakşohā 3.7b revant-: revat 2.2c, revatīs 5.5a rajata-: rajatam 20.7b reśman-: reśmanā 19.8b ratnabhesaja-: ratnabhesajam 21.5c rai-: rāyas 6.2d ratha: rathas 22.6c, ratha 11.7d, 8c, 12.3d, rocana: rocane 21.7a, 8b ratham 10.8c, 11.6d, 12.9d, rathāya 12.2a, rocanā -: rocanā 21.6d rathasya 12.6bd, rathe 10.6a, 12.11a, rodasī-: rodasī 21.4c rathebhis 10.7b **ropi**-: ropīs 20.10c rathajūti-: rathajūtim 3.3d rohana-: rohanam 15.4c **rathantara-**: rathantaram 1.2a  $\sqrt{\text{lup-:}}$  + apa apa +lumpāmi 6.8b rathavāhana-: rathavāhanam 10.8a loka-: lokam 17.8b rathin-: rathinas 12.1d √vac-: ucyase 3.1b, ūcima 3.9b, vaksyantī ranti-: rantir 2.1d, 2a 10.3a  $\sqrt{\text{vaj-}}$ : vājaya 11.5d, vājayantas 10.7b rapas-: rapasas 20.5c  $\sqrt{\mathbf{rabh}}$ : + anu +  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  anu  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ rabhadhyam 9.6b vajra-: vajras 11.7a, vajram 11.6d, vajrena + ā ārabhante 6.7a 18.2c + sam samrabhya 19.9b vatsapa-: vatsapam 18.3c

**raśmi-**: raśmayas 10.6d, raśmibhis 19.2b √**vad-**: vadāmasi 15.4d, vadantas 21.4b, **rājan-**: rājan 3.8a, 5.3b, 20.9a, rājānam vāvadītu 12.1b + sam saṁ vadante 16.1a

**rājñī**-: rājñī 16.2c **vadya**-: vadyam 1.6c **rājya-**: rājyāni 13.8a √**vadh-**: vadhīs 22.9c, 2

√**vadh**-: vadhīs 22.9c, 23.12e, vadhīt 23.2e

vanaspati-: vanaspate 11.8a, vanaspatīn 13.1a, vanaspatībhyas 11.6b, vanaspatīnām

7.8a

vandhura-: vandhuram 12.7d

**vapā-**: \*vapām 2.6c

vayuna-: vayunāni 11.4c

vayodhas-: vayodhās 1.3a

vayodhā-: vayodhās 10.9a

varivas-: varivas 11.1d

varuņa-: varuņas 3.10a, 7.2a, varuņa 3.8a,

9b, 5.3b, varuṇam 13.3a, varuṇasya 11.7b

varcas-: varcas 1.4c, varcasā 6.1a, varcase

4.6c, 5.3a

vartra-: \*vartram 23.5a, \*vartrāt 23.5°

vardhra-: vardhrāni 12.7c

varman-: varma 10.8b, varmanas 10.1d

varmin-: varmī 10.1b

varșa-: varșena 19.5b

**?vavrtram**: 18.1d

 $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$ : vaste 11.2a

vasana-: vasanā 12.5d

<sup>1</sup>**vasu-**: vasūni 6.3d

²**vasu-**: vasus 7.6a, vasavas 14.6a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{vah}}$ : +  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  \*ohatus 3.10d

**vā**: 14.4a

 $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$ : vācam 1.10d, vācas 1.2d, vācām 8.8a

 $\mathbf{v}\bar{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{j}\mathbf{a}$ -:  $\mathbf{v}\bar{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{j}\mathbf{e}$  6.4 $\mathbf{b}^2$ 

vājin-: vājinas 10.6a

**vāta-**: vātas 3.5c, 15.5c, vātam 13.5a,

vātena 1.4d, 19.8b, vātāt 22.8b, vātās 2.4d

vātīkāra-: vātīkāreņa 16.6a

vātīkṛta-: vātīkṛtasya 15.8d, 9c, 10c

**vāyu-**: vāyus 2.4c, 7.3a

**vār-**: vār 23.9a

vārya-: vārya 4.4c

vāsas-: vāsas 6.1c, 2a, 3a, 6b, 8a, 9a, 11.3a

**vi**: 11.2c, 18.1ac<sup>2</sup>, 20.1cd

vicakșus-: vicakșușā 23.4c

 $^{1}$ √**vid-**: avidam 15.7a

+ sam samvidāne 10.4c, \*samvidānas

22.10d

 $\sqrt{2}$  vid-: veda 21.5c, 23.1b, vidmas 13.10c,

vidvān 11.4c

vidatha-: vidathā 21.4b

√**vidyut-**: vidyotamānas 22.6a

vidyut-: vidyutam 22.7a, 8a, vidyute 20.8a,

23.11a, vidyutā 19.5b, vidyutām 3.5b

vidhartar-: vidhartā 2.5a

vipaścit-: vipaścit 22.5b

vipra-: vipram 3.1b

vivasvadvāta-: \*vivasvadvāte 2.1b

vivasvantam 13.3c

 $\sqrt{\text{vi}\text{s}}$ : +  $\bar{\text{a}}$  \*visatu 2.8c,  $\bar{\text{a}}$  vivesa 2.5d,  $\bar{\text{a}}$ 

veśayāmi 1.6b

+ pra pravistas 22.3a

+ sam sam viśasva 6.5b

viś-: viśas 4.4d, viksu 1.6b

viśva-: viśvam 20.7c, viśve 1.5b, 6c, 5.3d,

6.9b, 9.6a, 14.8d, viśvān 14.5a, 22.1c, viśvā

11.4c, viśvās 20.3d, viśvābhis 14.5c

viśvajanya-: viśvajanyās 18.2a

**viśvatas**: 1.3d, 3.6b

viśvarūpa-: viśvarūpam 1.2b, 20.7b

viśvavāra-: viśvavārāya 22.7c

viśvavyacā 2.3c

viśvāhā: 6.7d, 10.8d

visa-: visam 17.4ab, 5b, 6b, visasya 16.4d,

17.7d

vişadūşana-: vişadūşanī 16.4d, 17.7d

**viştambha-**: <sup>+</sup>viştambhas 2.3a

viṣṭhā-: \*viṣṭhayā 1.9b viṣṭhita-: viṣṭhitam 11.9b

viṣṇu-: viṣṇus 8.1a, viṣṇum 13.3b

viṣṇupatnī-: viṣṇupatnī 2.3b, 4a

vișvañc-: +vișūcīs 20.1d

visalpaka-: visalpakas 3.2b

viskandiki-: viskandike 18.7a

visphur-: visphurantī 10.4d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{v}}$ **\(\frac{1}{4}\):** v\(\frac{1}{2}\)dayasva 11.8c, 10d, 12.4c

vīdvangas 11.8a

vīra-: vīrān 20.3a

vīrudh-: vīrudhas 13.1b, 15.6c, vīrudhām

13.8a, vīrutsu 17.4b

vīrya-: vīryam 1.8b, vīryāṇi 12.9c

vīryāvant-: vīryāvatā 23.8e, vīryāvatī

16.3b, vīryāvatīm 15.7b

vrkṣa-: vrkṣān 23.5d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{vrj}}$ : + pari pari vrndhi 23.3a

vrjana-: vrjanā 20.6c

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{vrt}}$ -: + abhi +  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  abhy $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ vartasva 2.6a

+ pari + ā pari \*āvṛtam 11.6c

vrtra-: vrtram 12.8c

vrddhavrşnya-: vrddhavrşnyam 1.4a

√**vrdh**-: vardhayan 21.1b, vardhamānam

6.9c, vāvrdhānam 4.3a

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{vrs}}$ : varşati 21.5b

vṛṣan-: vṛṣā 22.6b, 10d

vṛṣapāṇi-: vṛṣapāṇayas 10.7a

vṛṣabha-: vṛṣabha 20.4a

vṛṣākṣa-: vṛṣākṣasya 23.1a

 $\sqrt{\text{ve}}$ : avayan 5.5d

veņu-: veņavas 12.6c

veśanta-: veśantās 14.3c

vai: 15.9b, 10b

vaidyuta-: vaidyutas 23.13c

vairāja-: vairāje 1.8a

vairūpa-: vairūpe 1.6a

vaiśvānara-: vaiśvānarās 9.6a

vyacas-: vyacas 10.5b

 $\sqrt{\text{vyadh}}$ : viddhasya 16.4a

+ apa apavidhyatām 10.4c

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{v}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{\bar{a}}}$ : + upa + sam upasamvyayasva 6.2d,

+ sam sam vyayantu 6.8c

vrata-: vratāni 21.4a

vratin-: vratinas 21.4a

vrātasāha-: vrātasāhās 10.9d

**śamtāti-**: śamtate 3.1c

**śamtva-**: śamtvāya 12.11d

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{\hat{s}ak}}$ : śakeyam 1.6a, 9.6c

**śakunta-**: śakuntān 13.9c

**śaktīvant-**: śaktīvantas 10.9b

**śakra-**: śakrās 14.7c, 8c

**śakvarī-**: śakvarī 1.9c

**śagma-**: śagmam 10.8c, śagme 12.9d

śańku-: śańkavas 12.6b

**śacī-**: śacībhis 12.5c

**śata-**: śatam 5.2d, 6.2c, 3c, 12.3c

**śatakāṇḍa-**: śatakāṇḍas 22.10b

**śatru-**: śatros 10.2c, śatrūn 10.4c, +7d,

11.9d, 12.6e, 9b

**śanta-**: śantamā 20.1a

**śapathya-**: śapathyāt 13.7a

**śam**:  $15.5abc^2d$ , 6abcd,  $20.4d^2$ 

**śarad-**: \*śaradā 1.7c, śaradas 5.2d, 6.2c, 3c

**śarman-**: śarma 1.7d, 5.3c, 5.4d, 11.2d,

12.11e, 22.6d

śarva-: śarveṇa 16.8a

**śalya-**: śalyān 20.10c

śākhā-: śākhayā 23.3c, 4c

**śikhaṇḍin-**: śikhaṇḍinīs 18.2b

 $\sqrt{\sin j}$ : sinkte 10.3c

**śiva-**: śivāt 23.10b, śive 10.10b, śivān 22.1b, śivā 23.10a, śivās 4.3d, 14.10d, 18.10c, \*21.3a, 22.2d, śivatarā 23.10b,

śivatamās 22.9b

**śukra-**: śukram 2.7b, 12.5c, śukre 1.3b,

śukrebhis 23.4b

**śuci-**: śucis 1.3b

śubhita-: śubhitam 1.4b

√**śṛ-**: śṛṇāmi 18.9c

+ api api śrna 4.1d

**śyena-**: śyenasya 12.4a

 $\sqrt{\text{srath}}$ : śrathnantas 6.7b

 $\sqrt{\text{śri-}}$ : śritam 23.12d, śritās 14.7c

√**śru-**: + śrutās 18.10c

+ prati pratiśrutā 23.5c, 6c

śrestha: śresthas 20.2a

śrotra-: śrotrāya 5.10b, śrotre 5.10d

**śvan-**: +śvā 18.8b, śunā 18.7c

 $\sqrt{\text{svas}}$ : \*svasatīs 19.10b

+ upa upa śvāsaya 11.9a

sa-: sa 2.5c, 6.7d, 7.1b, 10.1d, 11.7c, 9c,

12.11ab, 15.3d, 21.5ac, 22.2d, 6d, 10c, tat

1.6a, 2.7.c, 3.1c, 5.6d,  $6.5c^2$ d, 12.9d, 15.9a,

18.6d, tam 6.9bc, 16.1.d, 23.7b, tena 5.8c,

6.6d, 12.6e, 15.4d, 21.5e, 23.2c, tasmai

22.3c, tasmāt 3.8c, 9c, tasya 6.7c, 16.4c,

17.7c, 18.8c, 21.1d, tau 3.10c, tābhyām

21.7c, te 9.4b, 10.4a, 13.1d, 2d, 3d, 4d, 5d,

6d, 8d, 9d, 10d, 14.1d, 2d, 3d, 4d, 5d, 6d,

7d, 8d, 9d, 10d, 11d, 22.4d, tebhis 12.11e,

tebhyas 22.8c, teṣām 21.6c, tām 23.1bd, tās

18.5a, 20.10d, 22.9a, tābhis 21.3d

saṁdhāna-: saṁdhānās 2.4d

samvat-: samvatam 23.8a

samvatsara: samvatsaras +7.7a,

samvatsarena 2.2b, samvatsarasya 14.10c,

samvatsarān 14.2c, samvatsarāṇām 7.6a

samvid-: samvidam 23.8b

sakhi-: sakhā 11.1d, sakhāyam 10.3b,

sakhāyas 6.4c, sakhibhyas 11.1d

sagara-: sagarena 1.4d

saguņa-: saguņāsas 21.6a

saṅkā-: +saṅkās 10.5c

√sac-: sacatām 6.7d

**sajūs**: 11.9c

sañcara-: sañcarī 15.3b

satovīra-: satovīrās 10.9d

satya-: satyam 21.4b

satyasandha-: satyasandhān 14.5b

 $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$ : + upa upa sadema 10.8c

**sadā**: 14.10d

sadyas: 20.7e

√san-: sasanvān 12.3cd, +sisāsan 12.2d

sanā: 20.6c

santāna-: santāne 19.1b

sapatna-: sapatnān 12.9a

**sapta**: 13.9a, 14.4a

saptadaśa-: saptadaśena 1.6c

**saptan-**: sapta 13.9a, 14.4a

**sam**: 11.2c

samad-: samadas 10.2b, 5b, samadām

10.1b, samatsu 11.5d

samana-: samanā 10.4a

samā-: samās 14.2c

samit-: samiti 10.3d

samudra-: samudras 1.2d, 8.6a, samudram

18.5d, samudrāt 19.11a, 23.13a, samudrās

14.3c

samrāj-: samrāt 1.9a

saras-: saras 18.6b sāranga-: sārangas 18.8a, sārangena 18.7c sārasa-: sārasīs 18.6b sarasvatī-: sarasvatī 8.8a sarpa-: sarpas 23.13c, sarpān 14.9b  $\sqrt{\text{sic-:}}$  + anu anu siñca 15.9a sic-: +sicam 6.7a, sicau 12.5b sarpis-: sarpis 11.3a **sarva-**: sarvam 3.2c, 15.2d, sarvān 13.6c, √**sidh-**: sedhāmi 23.2c \*20.7e, sarvā 14.11c, sarvās 3.7c, 4.4b, + apa apa sedha 11.9d, 10c, 20.3d 10.2d, 5c, 13.5c, 18.2c, sarvāsām 16.2c sindhu-: sindhos 3.5a sarvavīra-: sarvavīrās 21.8a, sarvavīrān  $\sqrt{\text{siv}}$ : syūtas 12.11a 21.7d su: 6.2a, 20.5a salindā-: salindā 23.7a sujāta-: sujātam 6.9d salila-: salilād 22.7b sudugha-: sudughā 1.10a salilavāta-: \*salilavātam 1.6d suparna-: suparnas 11.3a, suparnam 11.2a savitar-: savitā 2.2b, 4.4c, 6.5d, 7.10a, subhūti-: subhūtaye 4.6d 12.5a, savitar 2.1c, 5.2c, 11.3d savitāram √sumanasya-: sumanasyamānās 10.8d 5.8a, 13.2a, savitre 5.6c suvarcas-: suvarcās 6.2c **sasya-**: sasyam 23.2e, +10d, \*sasyā 22.5c suvīra-: suvīras 6.5a, 11.8b, suvīram 6.6c  $\sqrt{\text{sah}}$ : sahasva 5.7d, 6.10d suvrdh-: suvrdhā 6.9c saha: 2.6b, 10.7b, 12.7b, 18.7c, 19.3b, 4b, susārathi-: susārathis 10.6b 5b, 8b, 22.10d susamsita-: +susamsitas 23.2b saha-: sahas 13.8c suhūti-: suhūtis 2.3c sahayaśas-: sahayaśā 1.5a  $\sqrt{\mathbf{s}\bar{\mathbf{u}}}$ : +  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$   $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  suva 5.2c,  $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  suvantas 12.8b **sahas**-: sahas +1.8b, 11.6b, 23.12ac, sahasā prasūtas 10.5d, prasūtā 11.2b, 23.12ab, sahasas 2.4b prasūtau 21.2c **sahasāmant-**: +sahasāmnī 1.9a sūnu-: sūnos 20.2d sahasya-: \*sahasyam 1.5d **sūrya-**: sūryas 3.5c, 6.8d, 7.4a, 15.1b, 5d, **sahasra-**: sahasram 5.6a sūryam 13.1c, sūryasya 19.2b sahsravīra-: sahasravīras \*12.3c, +9b sūryācandramasā-: sūryācandramasā sahasravīrya-: sahasravīrya 3.8c, 9c 13.6b sahasvant-: sahasvat 1.5d. sahasvatī 1.9a √**srj**-: srstā 20.6b sākam: 14.5c, 19.2b  $\sqrt{\text{srp}}$ : + vi + ava vi \*avāsrpad 3.7a sāci: 19.6b **sedi-**: sedim 2.8d sādhu-: sādhu 21.5b **senā-**: \*senā 20.6b **sānu-**: sānu 11.5a, sānau 23.6c **soma-**: somas 4.8a, 5.4b, 6.5c, 8.4a, 13.7c,

somam 5.10a, somāya 6.1d

somaśrestha-: somaśresthāni 13.8b

**sāman-**: \*sāman 1.6a, \*8a, sāmāni 14.1b,

sāmabhis 1.2a, sāmnām 2.2c, 8.7a

somya-: somyena 4.8a, somyāsas 10.10a

**skambha-**: skambhas 12.10c

√**stan-**: stanayan 22.6a

+ abhi abhi stana 11.10b

**stanayitnu-**: stanayitnus 12.3a,

stanayitnave +20.8b, 23.11a

stoma-: stomas 1.2c, stomais 1.4c

stomaikavimśa-: stomaikavimśe 2.1a

 $\sqrt{\text{sth}\bar{\text{a}}}$ : tisthāsi 4.4c, tisthan 10.6a

+ adhi adhyasthan 12.2b, adhi tasthima

21.8b

+  $\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}$  tiṣṭha 5.7a, 12.9a

sthāna-: sthānam 12.7d

sthira-: sthiras 5.7b, 6.10b, sthireṇa 6.10b

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{sn\bar{a}}}$ : +snāhi 4.5b

√**spṛdh-**: spardhamānas 22.5d

syona-: syonā 2.2d, 3d, 23.10a, syonās

22.9b

√**svaj-**: + pari parisasvajānā 10.3b

svaramkṛta-: svaramkṛtās 22.9a

svarvant-: svarvatī 1.5b, 1.10a

**svarvid-**: svarvin 1.1a

svasar-: svasā 15.3a

svasti-: svasti 6.7d, 20.3c, svastaye 4.6d,

6.3a, 22.10d

svāduşamsada: svāduşamsadas 10.9a

svāyasa-: \*svāyasas 23.2a

svāhā: 4.6d, 7.1e, 9.4d, 6c

√han-: hanat 18.4d, jaghnatus 21.2c, hata

12.8c, hatās 18.2d

+ ava ava jahi 18.3c

+ ā ā +jaṅghanti 11.5a, āhatās 18.5a

+ upa upa jighnate 11.5b

+ nis nirhantu 3.2d

harina-: harinasya 12.4a

**harimant-**: harimā 3.2a

havis-: havis 10.8a, havisā 11.6d, 22.3c

havya-: havyā 11.7d

havyadāti-: havyadātim 11.7c

havyamohana-: havyamohanīs 18.4c

hasta-: hastas 20.5a

hastaghna-: hastaghnas 11.4c

 $^{1}\sqrt{\mathbf{h}\mathbf{\bar{a}}}$ : + sam samjihīsva 17.8a

 $\sqrt{2}$ **hā**-: jahāmi 2.8d, 12.5d, \*jahīta 20.6c

hāyana-: hāyanān 14.2b

**hi**: 11.8a, 15.7a, 16.2c, 3a, 20.1b, 3a, 4a

himkāra-: himkāras 8.7a

 $\sqrt{\text{hims}}$ : himsīs 22.5c, 23.11c

**hita-**: hitam 20.7a

hiranya-: hiranyam 11.3b

**hiranyadant-**: \*hiranyadan 18.8a

hiranyavarna: hiranyavarnas 6.5a

 $\sqrt{\text{hu}}$ : juhomi 22.3c

 $\sqrt{\mathbf{h}\mathbf{\bar{u}}}$ : havāmahe 6.4b, huve 22.1a

√**hr**-: harāmi 6.9b

+ abhi abhi harantu 4.4d

+ ā āhārşam 15.7c, 16.3c

**hṛd-**: hṛdā 21.4d

**hṛdaya-**: hṛdayam 22.2c

\*hṛṇi-: hṛṇīyasā 20.2c

**heti-**: hetim 11.4b

hemanta-: hemantas 1.9b

hotrā-: \*hotrās 14.1c

**homa-**: homam 22.1d

hradva-: \*hradyāh 15.5a

hrāduni-: \*hrādunim 23.2c

√**hvā**-: hvayāmi 22.1b

# **INDEX LOCORUM**

Reference is given to the stanza of  $k\bar{a}n\dot{q}a$  15 in which the particular passage is quoted as a parallel passage or is discussed in the commentary.

Samhitās			
KapKS		38.12:133.3–5	15.9.5,6
1.15:31.7	15.5.5		
25.4:97.10	15.3.1	MS	
25.5:98.9–10	15.2.6	1.2.2:11.9–10	15.6.6
25.5:98.11–12	15.2.7	1.2.18:28.5	15.3.9
25.5:98.13.14	15.2.8	1.5.11:80.11–13	15.23.3
28.2:121.10-11	15.2.5	2.3.4:31.11–12	15.5.3
28.2:121.16	15.2.5	2.7.13:93.12	15.3.1
		2.7.13:94.15-16	15.14.3
KS		2.7.13:94.17	15.3.3
2.3:9.18	15.6.6	2.7.13:94.17-18	15.13.2
3.8:27.2	15.3.9	2.7.14:95.3-4	15.2.6
11.7:153.16–17	15.5.3	2.7.14:95.5-6	15.2.7
11.13:160.11-12	15.5.1	2.7.14:95.7-8	15.2.8
16.13:235.20	15.3.1	2.8.12:116.3	15.1.1
16.14:237.3-4	15.2.6	(=4.6.7:89.6)	
16.14:237.5-6	15.2.7	2.8.12:116.8	15.1.3
16.14:237.7-8	15.2.8	2.9.2	intr.
17:10:35.9	15.1.1	2.9.6:125.5	15.1.10
17.10:253.6	15.1.3	2.10.2:133.1-2	15.2.5
17: 11	intr.	2.10.3:134.7	15.2.7
18.1:265.4	15.2.5	3.6.10:74.2	15.23.2
18.1:265.10	15.2.5	3.15.8:180.1	15.23.2
22.5:61.3	15.21.1	3.16.3:185.10-11	15.10.1
22.14:69.16-17	15.1.1	3.16.3:185.12-13	15.10.2
22.14:69.18-19	15.1.2	3.16.3:185.14-15	15.10.3
22.14:69.20-21	15.1.3	3.16.3:185.16-17	15.10.4
22.14:70.1–2	15.1.4	3.16.3:186.1-2	15.10.5
22.14:70.3-4	15.1.5	3.16.3:186.3-4	15.10.6
22.14:70.5-6	15.1.6	3.16.3:186.5-6	15.10.7
22.14:70.7-8	15.1.7	3.16.3:186.13-14	15.10.9
22.14:70.9–10	15.1.8	3.16.3:186.15-16	15.10.10
22.14:70.11-12	15.1.9	3.16.3:186.7-8	15.11.8
22.14:70.13-14	15.1.10	3.16.3:186.9-10	15.11.6
22.14:70.17-18	15.2.1	3.16.3:186.11-12	15.11.7
22.14.70.15-16	15.2.2	3.16.3:187.2-3	15.11.2
22.14:71.1	15.2.3	3.16.3:187.4-5	15.11.4
22.14:71.2	15.2.4	3.16.3:187.6–7	15.11.5

3.16.3:187.8–		15.11.9	1.36.4a	15.19.5
3.16.3:187.10			1.43.1a 15.11.1	
3.16.3:187.12–13			= 19.41.13a	
3.16.4:187.14			1.46.2cd	15.20.10
3.16.4:187.16			1.53	intro
3.16.4:188.2-		15.1.3	1.53.3c	15.11.10
3.16.4:188.4-		15.1.4	1.54	intro
3.16.4:188.6,8			1.54.2b, 3c	
3.16.4:188.7,9			1.56.3ab	15.12.1
3.16.4:188.10	-11	15.1.7	1.62.3c	15.5.1
3.16.4:188.12	-13	15.1.8	1.62.3cd	15.5.9
3.16.4:188.14	-189.1	15.1.9	1.63.2cd	15.14.10
3.16.4:189.2-	3	15.2.1	1.64.3cd	15.11.4
3.16.4:189.4-	5	15.2.2	1.65.3	15.15.2
3.16.4:189.6-	7	15.2.1	1.66.1a	15.4.4
3.16.4:189:15	-16	15.2.4	1.68.4ef	15.5.2
3.16.4.190.1-	2	15.2.3	1.69.4e	15.5.1
4.4.1:50.3		15.23.2	1.71.2a	15.1.8
4.12.4:188.8-	9	15.5.1	1.74	intro
			1.75	intro
PS			1.75.3	15.8.2
1.3.2d	15.21.	1	1.80.5cb	15.3.5
1.4.4ab	15.18.	1	1.85.4cd	15.15
1.4.4b	15.23.	5	= 8.7.10cd	
1.7.3a	15.19.	11	1.87.1a	15.22.10
1.7.5a	15.19.	4	1.89	15.18
1.7.5b	15.18.	4	1.89.3d	15.18.4
1.11	intr.		1.92	intr.
1.14.2d	15.5.1		1.92.3a	15.10.8
1.14.3ab	15.22.	4	1.95.1d	15.20.3
1.18.4b	15.12.	2	1.95.4a	15.22.10
1.19	intr.		= PS 3.10.3a	
1.22.2cd	15.3.4		1.98.1c	15.15.1
1.29	15.18		= 4.20.6c	
1.29.1a	15.19.	2	$\approx 19.41.17c$	
= 1.36.1a			1.100.1cd	15.3.6
1.29.1b	15.18.	4	1.106.5d, 6a	15.2.8
1.29.2a	15.19.	3	1.107.1b	
= 1.36.2a			1.107.2b	
1.29.2b	15.19.	6	1.197.6	
1.29.2c	15.18.		2.2.3ab	
	9.3a 15.15.5		2.2.3cd	
1.36.1–4			= 9.10.1cd	
1.36.3a	15.19.		2.3.5a	15.17.8

2.5.5d	15.10.2	3.19.2b	15.11.10
2.8.4cd	15.4.1	3.26.1a	15.20.2
2.10.1d	15.4.4	3.30.4b	15.23.1
2.10.5b	15.17.8	3.30.6	15.4.2
2.12.1c	15.8.2	3.36.5c	15.11.1
2.14.3cd	15.21.1	4.5.1	15.15.2
2.16.4a	15.20.5	4.6.1b	15.19.11, 23.13
2.16.4ab	15.18.2	4.10.1b	15.1.8
2.18	intr.	4.12.3b	15.12.6
2.20	intr., 15.15	4.14.7a	15.23.5
2.20.5b	15.15.4	4.17.5d	15.23.8
= 9.11.10c		4.17.6de	15.15.5
= 19.30.12d		4.22.4	15.15.1
2.22	15.22	4.22.5d	15.20.9
2.24.5cd	15.6.5	4.25.6d	15.3.1
2.25	intr.	4.27.2e	15.10.8
2.36.5a	15.2.1	4.37.1b	15.21.6
2.38.1c	15.5.4	4.37.1–7c	15.21.2
2.44.1a	15.5.1	4.37.5b	15.23.11
2.52.1c	15.22.3	4.40.3b	15.6.6
2.61.2d	15.22.3	5.1.7b	15.7.10, 6.10
2.63.3a	15.13.5	5.7	15.22
= 3.14.6a		5.7.2a	15.2.1
2.65	intr.	5.7.5a	15.22.9
2.65.5c	15.5.4	5.7.10b	15.19.8, 22.2
2.66.5c	15.14.4	5.7.13c	15.23.2
2.67.1-5	15.14.9	5.8	15.16.4
2.70.4c	15.23.4	5.9.6b	15.19.1
2.70.5b	15.5.4	5.10.10d	15.11.4
2.71.2	15.4.1	5.11.1cd	15.10.1
2.72	intr.	5.14.1e	15.6.8
2.73	intr.	5.15.2d	15.2.8
2.73.1b	15.22.2	5.15.9c	15.23.2
2.73.3	15.4.1	5.15.7c	15.11.5
= 3.30.1, 19.46.11		5.16.2b	15.5.6
2.81.1d	15.6.8	5.16.5d	15.12.2
2.82.2-3	15.3.5	5.17.8ef	15.21.5
2.86	intr.	5.18.5b	15.4.10
2.88	intr.	5.18.8a	15.14.4
3.1.1c	15.4.4	5.19.1b	15.21.1
3.1.2ab	15.4.4	5.20.7cd	15.23.5
3.1.7b	15.11.1	5.21.1cd	15.23.1
3.4.5cd	15.4.6	5.22	intr., 15.16.4
3.5.6ab	15.22.5	5.22.9ab	15.4.6

5.22.9c	15.20.5	7.12.2cd	15.3.6
5.23.2d	15.15.7, 16.3	7.12.2ea 7.12.4ab	15.3.5
5.24.2	15.4.1	7.13	15.18
5.24.4cd	15.4.1	7.13.1d	15.18.4
5.27.3ac	15.15.1	7.13.1d 7.13.2ab	15.19.2
5.28.3d	15.2.8	7.13.2ab	15.13.4
5.29	intr.	7.13.4ab	15.19.1, 8
5.29.4a	15.10.8	7.13. <del>4</del> a <i>b</i>	15.19.6
5.30	15.22	7.13.70	15.19.9
5.31.8c	15.2.8	7.13.11–14	intr.
5.32.2c	15.21.4	7.13.12	15.19.10
5.34.2a	15.11.10	7.13.12 7.13.13a	15.23.13
5.37.8d	15.10.4	7.13.13ab	15.19.11
5.38.7cd	15.17.8	7.13.13ab	15.19.12
6.4.1	15.15.2	7.15.14ab	15.20.10
6.4.1d	15.15.3	7.15.46 7.15.9b	15.2.8
6.7.9b	15.14.4	7.16.7a	15.14.4
6.8.6	15.14.9	7.17.7a	15.14.4
6.9	intr.	7.19.5	15.14.9
6.11.3d	15.14.10	8.3	15.3.6
6.14.5b	15.18.3	8.7.6d	15.18.8
6.14.6c	15.19.12	8.7.9cd	15.15
6.14.6–8	15.14.9	8.8.11a	15.22.2
6.17.10a	15.4.10	8.13.8ab	15.10.4
6.20.6a	15.10.10	8.14.7	15.12.5
6.23.7ab	15.15.15	8.15.6c	15.13.10
6.23.10d	15.23.2	8.19.8ab	15.23.1
= 19.47.8a		9.3.2cd	15.15.2
6.23.11c	15.12.5	9.3.5ab	15.21.1
7.1.8	15.4.1	9.11.10b	15.16.1
7.1.14	15.4.1	= 19.31.11	
= 2.71.5		9.13.6cd	15.17.8
7.2.6c	15.4.1, 15.18.9	9.13.8ab	15.15.9
7.5.2c, 3b	15.14.4	9.17.10	15.17.6
7.5.4a	15.12.2	9.18.3ab	15.15.10
7.5.8b	15.3.7	9.22.4	15.3.8
7.6.1b	15.14.10	9.25.6a	15.14.9
7.7.1ab	15.22.10	9.27.9cd	15.11.4
7.7.6d	15.20.9	10.1.12b	15.3.7
7.9.4cd	15.3.10	10.7.5ab	15.21.1
7.10.6bc	15.15.4	10.10.4fg, 6fg	g 15.4.6
7.11.7	15.14.9	10.14.2a	15.14.9
7.11.10	15.15.1	11.1.11ab	15.21.5
7.12	intr.	11.3.7ab	15.3.6

11.6.9cd	15.3.1	16.4.4cd	15.15.5
11.6.9d	15.3.7	16.4.4g	15.15.6
11.6.10d	15.15.7, 16.3	16.5.4ab	15.15.10
11.11.4a	15.22.10	16.6.10c	15.4.1, 15.18.9
11.12.1	15.22.10	16.8.11	15.11.1
11.12.1c	15.15.1	16.14.6d	15.18.8
11.14.6ab	15.13.2	16.21.2bc	15.20.8, 23.11
11.16.8a	15.23.2	16.24.8ab	15.21.1
12.1.10d	15.23.3	16.25.9b	15.11.1
= PS 5.21.6d		16.27.3a	15.2.8
12.7.3ab	15.19.9	16.27.5ab	15.6.5
12.7.4a	15.19.11	16.30.5ab	15.14.9
12.7.5ab	15.19.1	16.34.4	15.4.1
12.7-8	15.18	16.35.5	15.4.1
12.7.7ab	15.18.2	16.36.10a	15.23.2
12.7.8	15.18.1	16.37.2ab	15.21.5
12.7.9a	15.18.2	16.37.5a	15.22.9
12.13.3ab	15.23.2	16.37.5-6	15.4.1
12.13.3b	15.23.2	16.41.2a	15.3.4
12.16.6c	15.20.5	16.50.4cd	15.4.1
12.18.1	intr., 15.22.3	16.76.1ab, 7a	15.21.1
12.19.5ab	15.3.5	16.76.2ac	15.4.2
13.1–2	intr.	16.79.1d	15.18.3
13.2.3b	15.14.10	16.79.4–6	15.14.9
13.7	intr.	16.84.7b	15.14.9
13.8	intr.	16.88.2ab	15.3.5
14.1	intr.	16.98.5d	15.4.4
14.2	intr.	16.99.4d	15.22.3
14.2.3c	15.14.4	16.104.1	15.21.2
14.2.4a	15.14.4	16.104.1d	15.23.11
14.3.1	15.18, 15.18.4	16.104.3	15.20.10
14.3.1cd	15.18.2	16.104.7a	15.18.2
14.3.3c	15.20.5	16.105.1a	15.5.2
14.3.8a	15.21.3	16.105.2a	15.18.2, 20.7
14.3.1–10	intr.	16.106.5f	15.20.7
14.4.1–7	intr.	16.106.6c	15.22.5
14.4.1a	15.18.2	16.106.6d	15.22.8
14.4.5a	15.18.2	16.130.1	15.3.8
14.5	intr.	16.139.3a	15.5.5
14.6	intr.	16.144.3b	15.17.6
14.6.4ab	15.23.1	17.3.10d	15.10.8
14.7.2c	15.11.10	17.4.7c	15.5.1
16.3.2c	15.5.4	17.12.2b	15.13.10
16.3.3ab	15.3.5	= 17.13.13c	

17.25.7cd	15.2.8	19.56.16b	15.4.4
17.32.5ab	15.5.1	20.2.9	15.22
17.32.10b	15.5.4	20.3.8c	15.6.8
17.37.1cd	15.12.2	20.4.2b	15.1.8
17.41.1a	15.22.2	20.4.7	15.22
18.50.4a	15.21.1	20.5.10b	15.5.9
18.51.8a	15.4.1	20.8.3	15.22
18.53.2a	15.6.5	20.10.8c	15.5.9
18.55.2d	15.17.8	20.11.5d	15.5.1
18.57.5c	15.21.4	20.11.12b	15.15.3
18.80.10b	15.4.3	20.14.4ab	15.3.10
19.3.4–6, 9	15.22	20.18.2cd	15.4.1
19.3.9	15.20.8	20.18.4cd	15.4.1
19.3.9ab	15.22	20.18.4d	15.18.9
19.6.5b	15.4.4	20.18.5a	15.21.1
19.6.6c	15.4.4	20.22.2a	15.4.1
19.8.3c	15.11.1	20.25.8b	15.1.8
19.9.10	15.15.1	20.28.8b	15.23.8
19.11.7b	15.4.1	20.30.6ab	15.13.2
19.13.6b	15.15.3	20.33.5ce	15.3.9
19.14.10-12	15.15.2	20.34.1d	15.15.6
19.14.13b	15.18.2	20.34.7d	15.5.2
19.16.16d	15.18.8	20.35.1c	15.11.1
19.16.16	15.18.8	20.40.3c	15.4.4
19.17.11	15.5.2	20.42.3cd	15.18.1
19.20.13cd	15.18.1	20.45.9	15.22.3
19.20.14a	15.19.11, 23.13	20.49	15.22
19.24.3	15.18.8	20.51.1ab	15.10.8
19.26.1b	15.2.8	20.54.7	15.4.2
19.27.8ab	15.16.1	20.55.10a	15.18.2
19.27.10c	15.15.9	20.59.7ab	15.23.1
19.29.2b	15.11.10	20.59.9d	15.5.1
19.29.8ab	15.10.8	20.60.1b	15.1.10
19.33.15a	15.19.11, 23.13	20.60.7a	15.18.2
19.38.13	15.5.5	20.62.2a	15.20.5
19.38.13cd	15.5.5	20.62.7c	15.18.2
19.38.14b	15.1.8		
19.39	15.5.5	ŖV	
19.40.3b	15.4.4	i.13.10a	15.13.2
19.42.4–6		1.23.9a	15.12.8
19.42.6a	15.3.4	1.23.20d	15.3.1
19.47.2b		1.24.13d	15.3.4
19.47.5a		1.30.7	15.6.4
19.48.18a		1.30.14	15.12.7

1 22 12 1	15.00.0	2 22	• .
1.32.13ab	15.23.2	2.33	intr.
1.32.15	15.12.7	2.33.2a	15.20.1
1.32.15	15.12.6	2.33.3ab	15.20.2
1.34.2	15.10.8	2.33.3cd	15.20.3
1.34.2	15.12.6	2.33.4c	15.20.3
1.34.2c	15.12.10	2.33.6a	15.20.3
1.43.4b	15.20.5	2.33.6a	intr.
1.52.9ab	15.15.4	2.33.6b	15.15.3
1.53.11d	15.5.4	2.33.7d	15.20.4
1.54.8d	15.1.3	2.33.7abc	15.20.5
1.54.11b	15.1.3	2.33.10abc	15.20.7
1.64.4b	15.18.2	3.28.4cd	5.21.4
1.64.6d	15.23.13	3.53.2cd	5.6.7
1.88.1ab	15.12.1	3.53.17	15.12.6
1.88.2	15.12.6	3.53.17	15.12.7
1.91.4d	15.11.7	3.60.2d	15.22.2
1.97.5	15.12.5	4.1.6a	15.20.2
1.104.3ab	15.23.10	4.4.14c	15.3.1
1.108.11ab	15.22.4	4.17.7a	15.12.2
1.114.1cd	15.15.2	4.38.8d	15.12.5
1.114.11b	intr.	4.50.4a	15.12.2
1.135.2d	15.5.2	4.57.2	15.8.9
1.141.9	15.12.7	4.58.8ab	15.10.4
1.152.4	15.5.5	5.1.11c	15.8.9
1.154.2b, 3b	15.8.1	5.2.7c	15.3.4
1.155.1c	15.8.1	5.13.6	15.12.6
1.156.3b	15.10.4	5.31.1	15.12.2
1.157.3	15.10.8	5.31.4b	15.8.2
1.161.3cd	15.5.9	5.31.5	15.12.8
1.162.5c	15.22.9	5.31.6c	15.10.9
1.163.1c	15.12.4	5.32.11ab	15.18.2
1.163.1a, 4a	15.12.2	5.43.7b	15.2.6
1.164.43	15.18.4	5.52.9	15.12.8
1.164.48	15.12.6	5.54.3c	15.23.2
1.166.9	15.12.7	5.54.11b	15.18.2
1.166.10b	15.18.2	5.57.1d	15.23.13
1.168.5a	15.22.5	5.57.6b	15.11.10
1.172.3b	15.23.3	5.59.3b	15.3.5
1.180.1	15.12.6	5.60.6ab	15.22.4
1.188.9ab	15.8.2	5.68.3c	15.1.3
1.191.15d	15.23.8	5.78.6	15.11.2
2.5.3	15.12.6	5.82.1c	15.20.2
2.24.8c	15.20.8	5.83.7ab	15.22.6
2.27.12c	15.12.2	6.1.3d	15.2.6
,	10.12.2	J.1.JU	10.2.0

6.8.1cd	15.1.1	7.71.2c	15.2.8
6.8.2a	15.20.2	7.81.1cd	15.10.7
6.16.2a	15.20.2	7.82.2d	15.11.10
6.16.26a	15.20.2	7.88.7b	15.3.4
6.16.48a	15.13.2	7.98.6a	15.5.7
6.47.26	15.11.8	8.13.9	15.8.9
6.47.26c	15.12.4	8.17.8a	15.2.6
6.47.27	15.11.6	8.18.9bc	15.5.5
6.47.28	15.11.7	8.20.11b	15.18.2
6.47.29	15.11.9	8.22.7d	15.1.3
6.47.30	15.11.10	8.27.8c	15.12.2
6.47.31	15.12.1	8.29.5b	15.20.5
6.52.13ab	15.22.4	8.41.4e	15.22.2
6.71.3d	15.10.10	8.47.17ad	15.4.1
6.74.4c	15.3.4	8.48.11a	15.2.8
6.75.1	15.10.1	8.48.15b	15.1.1
6.75.2	15.10.2	8.95.4	15.8.9
6.75.3	15.10.3	8.96.9a	15.12.4
6.75.4	15.10.4	9.5.9ab	15.13.2
6.75.5	15.10.5	9.8.9b	15.1.1
6.75.6	15.10.6	9.28.4a	15.22.6
6.75.7	15.10.7	9.41.3c	15.22.9
6.75.7d	intr.	9.66.6a	15.5.2
6.75.8	15.10.8	9.84.5b	15.1.1
6.75.9	15.10.9	9.109.8b	15.1.1
6.75.10	15.10.10	10.2.4a	15.21.4
6.75.11	15.11.2	10.10.5c	15.21.4
6.75.12d	15.5.4	10.16.3a	15.3.5
6.75.13	15.11.5	10.16.11a	15.10.8
6.75.15	15.11.4	10.18.2b, 3d	15.5.4
6.75.15	15.11.2	10.18.6a	15.5.1
6.75.17	15.18.2	10.18.14ab	15.11.2
7.8.6cd	15.3.7	10.37.4cd	15.2.8
7.13.3b	15.2.2	10.41.2b	15.10.8
7.28.3c	15.1.3	10.42-43-44	15.11.1
7.30.1d	15.1.3	10.48.8ab	15.18.10
7.32.17cd	15.5.7	10.53.10d	15.22.2
7.32.20cd	15.12.6	10.60.12c	15.3.1
7.35.6c	15.20.5	10.63.16a	15.20.2
7.39.6c	15.15.8	10.68.1	15.12.3
7.54.1 - 3	15.8.9	10.68.8de	15.21.5
7.55.7b	15.23.13	10.76.2a	15.20.2
7.59.8c	15.3.4	10.78.4	15.12.7
7.60.7c	15.16.1	10.79.5b	15.21.1

15.2.5	1.28.1b	15.3.7
15.2.5	1.29	intr.
15.19.11	1.31.2cd	15.3.4
15.3.4	2.1.3a	15.2.5
15.4.1	2.2.3	15.19.11
15.18.9	2.2.5	15.19.11
15.3.5	2.2.5a	15.19.4
15.5.2	2.2.5b	15.18.4
15.3.1	2.2.5d	15.18.10
15.3.7	2.4.2d	15.3.6
15.13.7	2.4.3c	15.3.1
15.15.3	2.7.3d	15.3.6
15.15.2	2.7.5cd	15.4.1
15.16.1	2.7.5d	15.18.9
15.5.4	2.9.3b	15.17.8
15.1.3	2.10.5b	15.20.6
15.1.8	2.10.6a	15.17.8
15.1.4	2.11.3b	15.20.10
15.1.6	2.12.5b	15.9.6
15.12.6	2.12.5d	15.10.2
15.17.8	2.13.	15.5
15.21.5	2.13.1	15.5.1
intr.	2.13.2	15.6.1
15.18.2	= 19.24.4	
15.13.2	2.13.3abc	15.6.3
15.10.4	2.13.3cd	15.6.2
15.4.4	2.13.5	15.6.9
15.4.4	2.25.3	15.14.9
15.8.2	2.26.1c	15.8.2
	2.27.6	15.20.5
	2.27.6ab	15.18.2
15.2.6	2.28.5	15.5.3
	2.29.2	15.5.2
	2.29.2d	15.5.2
15.18.1	2.32.2c	15.4.1, 15.18.9
15.23.5	= 5.23.9c	
intr.	2.32.5	15.21.1
15.5.2	2.34.4a	15.13.9
15.5.2	2.36.6a	15.11.10
15.18.1	3.1	15.18.4
15.22	3.2.6ab	15.22.5
14.23.11	3.4.1c	15.4.4
15.20.8	3.4.2ab	15.4.4
15.22	3.5.2ab	15.1.3
	15.2.5 15.19.11 15.3.4 15.4.1 15.18.9 15.3.5 15.5.2 15.3.1 15.3.7 15.13.7 15.15.3 15.15.2 15.16.1 15.5.4 15.1.3 15.1.8 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.12.6 15.17.8 15.21.5 intr. 15.18.2 15.13.2 15.10.4 15.4.4 15.4.4 15.4.4 15.4.4 15.4.4 15.5.2 15.15.2 15.15.2 15.18.1 15.23.5 intr. 15.5.2 15.18.1 15.20.8	15.2.5       1.29         15.19.11       1.31.2cd         15.3.4       2.1.3a         15.4.1       2.2.3         15.18.9       2.2.5         15.3.5       2.2.5a         15.5.2       2.2.5b         15.3.1       2.2.5d         15.3.7       2.4.2d         15.13.7       2.4.3c         15.15.3       2.7.3d         15.15.3       2.7.5cd         15.15.4       2.9.3b         15.15.2       2.7.5cd         15.16.1       2.7.5d         15.18.1       2.10.5b         15.1.8       2.10.6a         15.1.8       2.10.6a         15.1.8       2.13.5b         15.1.8       2.13.1         15.1.6       2.12.5b         15.1.8       2.13.3         15.1.6       2.12.5b         15.1.8       2.13.3         15.1.6       2.12.5b         15.1.8       2.13.3         15.1.8       2.13.3         15.1.8.2       2.13.3         15.4.4       2.13.5         15.2.6       2.27.6a         2.27.6ab       2.27.6ab         2.29.2       2.29.2d

3.10.6cd	15.13.9	5.18.3	15.17.6
3.10.9bc	15.14.2	5.20.9cd	15.11.4
3.11.3cd	15.5.9	5.21.1cd	15.21.1
= 3.20.96, 8cc	d	5.21.9ab	15.10.3
3.11.6cd	15.5.1	5.25.1	15.11.2
3.13.5cd	15.4.6	5.24	15.7
3.16	intr.	5.24.1	15.7.10
3.17	15.22	5.24.1bcde	15.7.1
3.19.6cd	15.12.1	5.24.2	15.7.8
3.24	15.22	5.24.4	15.7.2
3.30.1b	15.21.1	5.24.6	15.8.1
4.3.6ab	15.4.1	5.24.7	15.8.4
4.4.1	15.15.2	5.24.8	15.7.3
4.6	15.16.4	5.24.9	15.7.4
4.9.3–7, 10	15.3.6	5.24.9a	15.3.5
4.9.6ab	15.3.3	5.24.10	15.7.5
4.10.3c	15.3.1	5.24.11	15.7.9
4.10.4d	15.3.1	5.24.12	15.8.3
4.15	15.22	5.24.13	15.9.2
4.15.7, 9	15.23.13	5.24.14	15.9.3
4.16.3cd	15.23.9	5.24.15	15.9.4
4.18.2	15.4.1	5.24.16	15.9.4
4.18.4cd	15.4.1	5.24.17	15.9.4
4.28	intr.	5.29,6–9	15.15.9
4.28.1b	15.21.6	5.30.6cd	15.17.8
4.28.1–7c	15.21.2	5.30.6d	15.17.8
4.13.3c	15.3.1	5.30.8ab	15.15.10
4.13.6c,	15.3.1	5.31	15.4.1
4.31.3b	15.12.6	6.29.3d	15.23.8
4.37.3ab	15.19.9	6.31.2	15.21.6
4.37.4b	15.18.2	6.32.2b	15.4.1, 15.18.9
4.37.5	15.18.1	6.37.2cd	15.4.1
4.37.7ab	15.18.2	6.38	intr.
4.38.5ab	15.19.2	6.44.1d	15.5.2
4.39.9ab	15.22.3	6.46.3	15.4.1
5.3.1c	15.4.4	6.50.1b	15.18.9
5.5.1d	15.15.3	6.52.3c	15.3.1
= 6.100.3b		6.59	15.15.2
5.5.2ab	15.3.8	6.75.3	15.21.6
5.7.3cd	15.3.10	6.87.2c	15.4.4
5.9.7	15.3.5	6.90	intr.
5.14	15.4.1	6.93.1b	15.18.2
5.14.10	15.4.1	6.109.2ab	15.16.1
5.14.12-13	15.4.1	6.109.2d	15.15.3

6.109.3c	15.15.9	10.1.3	15.4.1
6.118.2cd	15.4.1	10.1.14	15.4.1
6.125.1	15.11.8	10.1.20a	15.23.2
6.125.2	15.11.6	10.1.25a	15.22.9
6.125.3	15.11.7	10.1.25–26	15.4.1
6.126.1	15.11.9	10.3.1d	15.6.10
6.126.2	15.11.10	10.3.3a	15.3.1
6.126.3	15.121,4	10.5.22	15.3.8
6.136.3c	15.3.1	10.5.36cd	15.4.6
6.138.3cd	15.5.2	$\approx 16.8.4$	
6.142	15.22	10.9.12ab	15.14.7
7.8.1b	15.1.10	10.137.3c	15.3.1
7.11	15.22	11.2	intr.
7.11.1cd	15.22.5	11.2.1	15.21.2
7.17.3c	15.6.8	11.2.1d	15.23.11
7.18	15.22	11.2.7a	15.18.2
7.42	intr.	11.2.11	15.5.2
7.46.1b	15.15.3	11.2.12	15.18.2
7.51.1	15.11.1	11.2.12a	15.20.7
7.53.4d	15.5.1	11.2.25bc	15.20.7
$\approx 1.30.2d$		11.2.26b	15.22.5
7.60.1c1	5.20.2	11.2.26c	15.22.8
7.69.1ab	15.15.5	11.4.6b	15.16.1
7.69.1d	15.15.6	11.6.1	15.13.1
7.83.2cd	15.3.9	11.6.2	15.13.3
7.87	intr.	11.6.3	15.13.2
8.2.2d	15.5.3	11.6.4	15.13.4
8.2.3	15.3.5	11.6.5	15.13.6
8.2.20	15.14.9	11.6.6	15.13.5
8.3.10c	15.4.1, 15.18.9	11.6.7	15.13.7
8.2.14cd	15.15.5	11.6.8	15.13.9
8.5.5ab	15.6.5	11.6.9abc	15.13.10
8.6.1d	15.18.4	11.6.9d	15.14.10
8.6.4-6-12	15.14.19	11.6.10	15.14.3
8.7.26c	15.3.1	11.6.11	15.14.4
8.8.15ab	15.14.9	11.6.12	15.14.7
= 11.9.24cd		11.6.13	15.14.6
9.2.2ac	15.4.2	11.6.14	15.14.1
9.3.24a	15.3.4	11.6.15	15.13.8
9.4.8b	15.12.4	11.6.16	15.14.9
9.5.19d	15.8.9	11.6.17	15.14.2
9.7.3a	15.5.5	11.6.18	15.14.8
9.8.5ab	15.3.2	11.6.19	15.14.5
10.1	15.4.1	11.6.21	15.14.11

11.6.22	15.14.10	19.44.3	15.3.3
11.6.22d	15.13.10	19.44.4	15.3.4
11.8.31	15.3.5	19.44.5	15.3.5
12.1.12c	15.10.4	19.44.6	15.3.6
12.2.24a	15.5.1	19.44.7	15.3.7
12.2.30b	15.5.4	19.44.8	15.3.8
12.3.11cd	15.12.2	19.44.9	15.3.9
12.3.51a	15.22.2	19.44.10	15.3.10
12.5.34	15.17.6	19.45.1	15.4.1
14.1.45b	15.5.6	19.45.2	15.4.2
14.1.45c	15.6.8	19.45.3	15.4.3
14.2.9	15.19.3	19.45.4	15.4.4
15.1.6	intr.	19.45.5	15.4.5
15.5	15.15	19.45.6	15.4.6
15.5	15.16.7	19.45.7	15.4.7
16.3.4	15.1.4	19.45.8	15.4.8
16.6.4a	15.21.1	19.45.9	15.4.9
16.6.7	15.14.9	19.45.10	15.4.10
16.7.12a	15.1.4	19.47.6a	15.10.10
16.9.2	15.6.5	19.57.1	15.4.1
17.8c	15.17.8	19.57.4de	15.4.2
18.1.5c	15.21.4	19.57.5	15.4.2
18.4.53	15.4.3	19.59.2a	15.21.4
19.2.5a	15.22.2	20.17.11	15.11.1
19.7.1	15.21.6	20.94.11	15.11.1
19.7.2a	15.5.5		
19.10.6	15.20.5	TS	
19.24.2	15.5.9	1.2.2	15.6.6
19.24.2d, 3d	15.5.9	1.3.11.1	15.3.9
19.24.3	15.510	1.3.14.4	15.5.1
19.24.5	15.6.2	1.5.5.3	15.5.1
19.24.6	15.6.3	(=1.5.74)	
19.24.7	15.6.4	1.7.7.6	15.11.6
19.24.8	15.6.5	1.7.8.4	15.11.5
19.24.8	15.5.8	1.7.7.2	15.11.6
19.27.5ab	15.21.1	(=1.8.15.1)	
19.32.1	15.22.10	2.1.2	intr.
19.32.6b	15.5.7, 15.6.10	2.2.11.4	15.6.6
19.34.7a	15.3.6	2.3.10.3	15.5.3
19.34.9c	15.3.7	3.3.11.1	15.11.1
19.35.5c	15.3.1	3.4.5.1	15.7.2,10
19.39.5–8–9c			15.8.1–3, 6
19.44.1	15.3.1	3.4.5.2	15.9.4
19.44.2	15.3.2	4.1.2.1	15.6.4

4.2.6.5	15.15.2	29.40	15.10.3
4.2.7.1	15.2.6–8	29.41	15.10.4
4.4.11.1	15.1.1, 3	29.42	15.10.5
4.4.12.1	15.1.1–3	29.43	15.10.6
	15.1.10	29.44	15.10.7
	15.2.1–2	29.45	15.10.8
4.4.12.2	15.1.4–6	29.46	15.10.9
4.4.12.3	15.1.7–9	29.47	15.10.10
4.4.12.5	15.2.3, 2.4	29.48	15.11.2
4.5.1	intr.	29.50	15.11.5
4.5.6.1	15.1.10	29.51	15.11.4
4.6.2.1	15.2.5	29.52	15.11.8
4.6.6.1	15.10.1–3	29.53	15.11.6
4.6.6.2	15.10.4–6	29.54	15.11.7
4.6.6.3	15.10.7–9	29.55	15.11.9
4.6.6.4	15.10.10, 15.11.2	29.56	15.11.10
4.6.6.5	15.11.4, 5, 8	29.57	15.12.1
4.6.6.6	15.11.6, 7, 9	35.17	15.1.1
4.6.6.7	15.11.10, 15.12.1	36.21	15.20.8
6.1.1.4	15.5.8	36.21	15.23.11
7.1.18.1	15.1.2, 1.4, 1.6	39.8	15.16.7
7.1.18.1-2	15.1.8		
7.4.1	intr.	Brāhmaņas	
7.4.1 7.5.15	intr. 15.1.1	Brāhmaṇas AB	
		•	15.1.2
		AB	15.1.2 15.5.5
7.5.15		<b>AB</b> 1.1.7	
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b>	15.1.1	<b>AB</b> 1.1.7 3.10.5	15.5.5
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b> 3.17	15.1.1 15.5.1	<b>AB</b> 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1	15.5.5 15.1.2
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b> 3.17 3.41	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2	<b>AB</b> 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b> 3.17 3.41 11.14	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2 15.6.4	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b> 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.99	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2 15.6.4 15.15.2 15.5.7 15.16.10	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6
7.5.15 <b>VSM</b> 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.99 12.103	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2 15.6.4 15.15.2 15.5.7 15.16.10 15.2.6	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.99 12.103 12.104	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2 15.6.4 15.15.2 15.5.7 15.16.10	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104	15.1.1 15.5.1 15.20.2 15.6.4 15.15.2 15.5.7 15.16.10 15.2.6 15.2.7 15.2.8	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16 13.25	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6 16.1.14	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3  intr.	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x  JB	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6 16.1.14 16.33	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3  intr.  15.1.10	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x  JB 1.287	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.14.9
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6 16.1.14 16.33 17.17	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3  intr.  15.1.10  15.2.5	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x  JB	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.17
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6 16.1.14 16.33 17.17 20.18	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3  intr.  15.1.10  15.2.5  15.3.9	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x  JB 1.287 2.103	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.14.9
7.5.15  VSM 3.17 3.41 11.14 12.95 12.99 12.103 12.104 12.104 15.15–16 13.25 14.6 16.1.14 16.33 17.17	15.1.1  15.5.1  15.20.2  15.6.4  15.15.2  15.5.7  15.16.10  15.2.6  15.2.7  15.2.8  15.21.1  15.1.1  15.1.3  intr.  15.1.10  15.2.5	AB 1.1.7 3.10.5 4.29.1 4.31.1 5.1.1 6.1.4 7.31.2 8.17.2 8.24.1 8.27.1  GB 1.3.11x  JB 1.287	15.5.5 15.1.2 15.1.4 15.1.6 15.17.6 15.7 15.6.6 15.17 15.14.9

6.8.7	15.8.7	4.12.2g	15.1.10
13.3.12	15.7.1	4.12.2i	15.2.1
13.9.27	15.7.1	4.12.2h	15.2.2
20.3.2	15.15.8	4.12.2j	15.2.3
22.11.2	15.22.2	4.12.2ij	15.2.4
ŚB		BaudhŚS	
1.4.1.1	15.8.7	11.6: 72.8	15.10.8
1.4.1.30	15.10.8		
2.2.4.12	15.8.7	HirGS	
2.3.4.19	15.5.1	1.3.5	15.5.1
4.1.4.5	15.7	1.4.1	15.5.7
5.4.3.14	15.10.6	1.4.2	15.6.1
11.4.3.17	15.8.2	1.4.2	15.6.2
13.2.3.2	15.8.7	1.7.17	15.6.9
TB		KauśS	
1.1.7	15.8.2	3.1	15.18.4
1.2.1	15.5.1	12.6	15.15.5
2.7.14	15.15.8	12.7	15.15.5
1.3.61	15.11.6	43.3	15.15.5
3.2.1	15.7.3	38.8–10	15.22
27.1.2	15.7	47.16	15.3.4
		51.8	15.16.8
Āraņyakas		59.19	15.11.1
$Tar{A}$		131.2	15.21.3
2.5.1	15.5.1		
6.10.1	15.5.1	KātyŚS	
		15.6.28	15.10.8
Sūtras			
ĀpŚS		LāţŚS	
6.27.5	15.20.2	3.3.1	15.20.2
ĀśvŚS		PārGS	
2.10.4	15.5.1	3.14	15.23.11
4.12.2a	15.1.1		
4.12.2ab	15.1.2	ŚāṅkhGS	
4.12.2b	15.1.3	1.25	15.5.1
4.12.2bc	15.1.4	1.13.12b	15.5.7
4.12.2cd	15.1.5	3.7	15.20.2
4.12.2d	15.1.6		
4.12.2e	15.1.7	ŚāṅkhŚS	
4.12.2f	15.1.8	4.10.1	15.7
4.12.2fg	15.1.9		
8			

# VaitS

7.22 15.14.9 25.2 15.11.1

# ĀpMP

1.6.3 15.6.4 2.2.1 15.5.1 2.2.2 15.5.7 2.2.3 15.5.5 2.2.3 15.5.6 2.2.4 15.5.6 2.2.6 15.6.1 2.2.7 15.6.2 2.2.8 15.6.3 2.4.1 15.6.4 2.4.2 15.5.3 2.4.4 15.5.4 2.6.15 15.6.9

### **AVPariś**

2.4.1–5 intr. 4.1 15.5 37.1.10 15.3.4 45.2.9 15.14.9

# AthPrāy

6.5 15.1.1

# **AVŚānt**

16.115.317.515.319.715.3

### Curriculum Vitae

Ik ben geboren op 8 juni 1985 in Pistoia, Italië. Van 1999 tot 2004 bezocht ik het Gymnasium "N. Forteguerri" in Pistoia.

In september 2004 begon ik aan de Universiteit van Florence Klassieke Talen en Indo-Europese Taalwetenschap te studeren. Ik behaalde mijn BA-diploma in 2007 en mijn MAdiploma in 2009.

In 2008 behaalde ik een diploma Piano, op het Conservatorium "P. Mascagni" in Livorno. Van 2011 tot 2013 was ik promovendus aan de Universiteit van Macerata, Italië. In 2014 kreeg ik een Gonda Fellowship, die me in staat stelde om zes maanden door te brengen bij het IIAS in Leiden.

### Samenvatting

Het doel van dit proefschrift is om een kritische editie te presenteren van kāṇḍa 15 van de Paippalādasamhitā (PS) van de Atharvaveda.

Het werk is verdeeld in twee delen: een inleiding en de kritische editie zelf.

De inleiding behandelt eerst onderwerpen die betrekking hebben op de overlevering van de tekst in de zeven manuscripten die vergeleken worden voor de editie. Na de beschrijving van de manuscripten en het onderzoek naar hun onderlinge relaties richt ik me op het probleem van orthografie en spelling in de geschreven bronnen.

De ordening van de hymnen in PS 15 en een bespreking van hun inhoud zijn de onderwerpen die in de volgende sectie aan de orde komen. Daarna volgt de uitleg van de wijze waarop de tekst gepresenteerd wordt en de criteria volgens welke het kritisch apparaat is opgesteld.

Tenslotte worden de methodologie en de resultaten van de metrische analyse onderzocht.

De kritische editie van kāṇḍa 15 volgt hetzelfde patroon voor elk van de 23 hymnen die de kāṇḍa vormen. Elke hymne krijgt een onderschrift dat tracht de globale strekking van de hymne voor te stellen. Verdere uitwerkingen worden voorzien in het inleidende commentaar dat elke hymne voorafgaat.

Tekst, vertaling, een positief kritisch apparaat, parallelle passages en commentaar volgen daarop, in die volgorde, strofe voor strofe gerangschikt. Het commentaar behandelt filologische, grammaticale, metrische en lexicale problemen, alsmede de interpretatie van de tekst zelf.

Elke strofe is voorzien van een kop met daarin vetgedrukt het nummer van de strofe, samen met een lijst van parallelle passages. Elke pāda wordt gevolgd door een symbool dat de metrische structuur aangeeft.

Aan het einde van het werk, na een lijst met afkortingen en de literatuurlijst, wordt de dissertatie voltooid met een Index Verborum en een Index Locorum.